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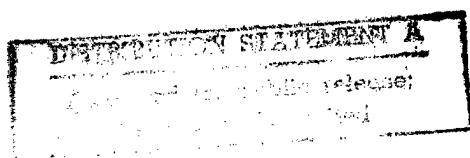
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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2215



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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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JIRI PELIKAN: ANDROPOV LIKELY TO ALLOW 'HUNGARIAN SOLUTION'

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 1 Sep 83 p 5

[Interview and Commentary by Vibeke Sperling: "Andropov Gives Eastern Europe's Leaders Opportunity to Take a More Popular Course"]

[Text] Prominent Czechoslovak politician-in-exile Jiri Pelikan says, "The existing Great Power logic does not permit success for a new Prague Spring or a Polish Summer. On the other hand, a Hungarian Solution is possible."

"I do not think that reform communism's time is over in Eastern Europe," says the leading member of the socialist Czechoslovak opposition in exile, Jiri Pelikan, in a conversation with INFORMATION regarding the quelling of the Prague Spring 15 years ago and the quelling of the Polish Summer recently.

He believes in addition that the change in power in the Kremlin gives Eastern European communist parties an opportunity to conduct a policy which to a greater degree can satisfy the peoples' needs and desires than that conducted in Brezhnev's time.

Pelikan says further that the Prague Spring was "an attempt to resolve the sharpened differences in so-called really existing socialism by democratic means and on specific Czechoslovak terms." It was in his view an "attempt to rehabilitate socialism and a process which meant close interplay between the party and the people."

This particular solution was checked as a possibility not only in Czechoslovakia but in all of Eastern Europe with the invasion of 21 August 1968, Pelikan believes. In his view it does not mean that "ferments" no longer exist in the Eastern European parties, although the Dubceks are no longer there.

In Czechoslovakia the circle around Alexander Dubcek was purged during the "normalization" after the invasion. About a half million party members were expelled, many of them subjected to legal proceedings, and still more black-balled while the blindly loyal with--and especially without--qualifications took over their jobs.

"We cannot in the near future expect a new drive as in Dubcek's time, but there is also consciousness in the party that the economy must be made to function," Pelikan says. He adds that the opposition must necessarily be frank toward such forces.

"In Poland it was the Solidarity leadership's weakness that they did not really interest themselves in the party and its visions for economic life," Pelikan believes, because "without improvement of the economies of the Eastern European countries a gradual democratization process cannot be introduced and only a very gradual process is possible under the existing Great Power partition of Europe."

#### Knows the Party

Jiri Pelikan knows the Czechoslovak Communist Party from within. In the period of 1963-68 he was general director of Czechoslovak TV, a member of the party's central committee and spokesman for the parliament's foreign affairs committee. He was active in behalf of Dubcek and was consequently forced into exile in 1969. Since then he has lived in Rome, where he edits the newspaper LISTY, which is the organ of the "Listy" group, Czechoslovak socialists and reform communists in exile.

Pelikan is now a member of the Italian Socialist Party's group in the European Parliament and has devoted his time especially to East-West relations in Europe. He sees democratization in Eastern Europe as a decisive condition for true detente in Europe.

He says that the invasion must be especially remembered because it smashed so much "not only for Czechs and Slovaks, but for everyone in Europe and around the world who believed that democratic socialism could be realized and that the partition of Europe which the name Yalta symbolizes can gradually be eliminated."

Pelikan stresses that the invasion was a direct consequence of this bloc partition and that one of the most serious international consequences was strengthening of the two-pole system on the world plane and especially in Europe.

Jiri Pelikan, just as the Czechoslovak human rights group Charta 77, has asserted that the 1968 invasion intensified the stagnation and crisis tendencies of the Eastern European countries.

Of this he says, "As mentioned, the objective behind the Czechoslovak spring was to adapt the socialist model in Czechoslovakia to the special cultural, economic and political realities in our country. The background for the crises in Eastern Europe is that this adaptation never took place. The same problem existed in Hungary and led to the 1956 uprising, and it is currently most obvious in Poland. However one looks at it, the basic differences are created by a system imposed by force from without."

"When the differences were intensified in the 60's, especially in Czechoslovakia, it must also be seen against the background of the people's frustrations over what it meant for a formerly advanced industrial society with well developed democratic parliamentary traditions. It is also the background for the Czechoslovak reform wave's special nature, of symbiosis between pressure from the foundation and a political and economic reform process which the party was at the head of."

"This solution was blocked by the Soviet military intervention. The reform solution's opening of the Eastern European parties themselves was no longer a possibility, but the differences were not resolved."

"We have since seen first and foremost in Poland that any attempt at deep-going changes has been made by forces outside of the legalized institutions, by groups who are marginalized in relation to the machinery of power, in the present case, the working class."

[Question] But the demand for reform was also raised strongly in the Polish party itself. Was not the extraordinary congress in the summer of 1981 an expression of this?

[Answer] "The departure in the ranks of Polish communists can be called an expression of the fact that the differences created by the forcibly imposed Soviet model were not resolved with the invasion of Czechoslovakia. They were only frozen solid. They will surface again--also in Czechoslovakia. They are the source of constant dissatisfaction among the people and also of creation of new cells of ferment in the parties' ranks. I do not agree with those people who categorically assert that with the quelling of the Prague Spring reform communism's era ended for good. I think this is a very emotional reaction. However, the re-establishment of Stalinist dogmatic positions in the parties has thrust the more open and flexible powers in the parties into the defensive. It was these whom I said before that Solidarity in Poland was not sufficiently attentive to."

"Solidarity declared that they were not interested in the party's discussions because the popular movement around Solidarity had brought the party to something close to non-existence. Yet a million of solidarity's members were also members of the party, and the extraordinary congress showed clearly that discussions regarding deep-going changes took place."

#### The Parties Exist

It was catastrophic for Solidarity to deny the existence of the party, Pelikan believes, and says, "The Eastern European parties exist and will do so for a long time to come with a more or less well functioning power monopoly."

This means for him that great attentiveness must be shown toward groups which have other perspectives than pure maintenance of the status quo.

He numbers among these groups new and more pragmatic generations who are waiting to come to power. "And the party is the army, too," which of course

primarily is interested in an effective and modern army, but knows that it requires modern industry as a backdrop. Together with those technically responsible for the economy, parts of the army are also to be found among those forces which are open to changes. "The Eastern European parties are not just forces who want to keep particular privileges," Pelikan says.

[Question] But can real democratization then be excluded right off the top? Does not the just carried out Hungarian election reform which gives individuals and groups outside of the party a bigger opportunity to nominate for parliamentary elections point in this direction?

[Answer] "This type of limited reforms is under certain circumstances a possibility also under the existing power situation in Europe. But it must be remembered that normalization like Kadar's after the Hungarian uprising is based on consciousness in both the party and the people of the defeat in 1956. The armed quelling made both sides aware that any other solution is doomed to defeat. The Hungarian people recognized that liberal superiors was the optimum which could be obtained. Life was made easier by this means, private initiative could be permitted, and the way has been opened to extra earnings and, not least, to reasonably good supplies of goods."

"Mutual understanding of the reality of the defeat was a fundamental prerequisite for normalization a la Kadar to come to mean increasing prosperity and more tolerance in cultural life. But the solution of limited reforms demands a guarantee that no Prague Spring of Polish Summer will come out of it."

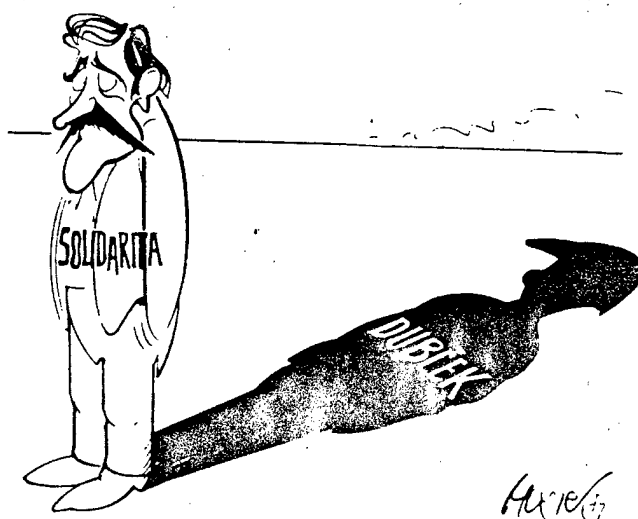
Pelikan says further that this is presumably "the only realistic solution to a better life" in Eastern Europe of today. In his view it is also the solution which Poland's Jaruzelski and "especially Vice-Minister President Rakowski" want to pursue.

However, the Poles do not have the same feeling of final defeat as the Hungarians after 1956. "It can come and it is obvious that the authorities are attempting to create a similar consciousness of defeat in Poland," Pelikan says.

[Question] Can Andropov prepare the way for Hungarian forms of normalization?

[Answer] "Yes, I think that Andropov can facilitate this solution. In any case a change in power should. Brezhnev was personally associated with the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The main interest of his leadership was to maintain things as they were. A pragmatist like Andropov can see perfectly well that the current Czechoslovak leadership is not a useable alliance partner, but rather a burden."

"When we talk about preparing the way for limited reforms in Eastern Europe the new Kremlin leadership's plans in their country is of decisive importance. Not much can be changed in Eastern Europe without changes in the Soviet Union. This is true both economically and politically."



Walesa and Dubcek--The Military Quelling of Dubcek's Spring in Prague Showed that a Polish Summer Also Could Not Expect Success

#### No Political Reform

Pelikan says further of Andropov's Soviet Union, "On the economic front things are in a stir. We have not seen anything of political democratization measures. A guarantee to Moscow of continued keeping in step in terms of foreign policy and no wide-ranging domestic policy experiments is still a condition for limited economic reforms. Hungary has fulfilled this condition and it is now required of Poland. But Eastern Europe can reap many advantages from the fact that Andropov from his time in the KGB possesses great knowledge of the actual state of the economy. Previously the KGB was the only agency which had the prerequisites for a realistic view of the economy. His background as the official for the Soviet side's relations with Eastern Europe has given him knowledge of how the tolerance limits go in Eastern Europe. Finally, he knows from his time as top official under Khrushchev, too, that a sudden step toward changes only produces a backlash. His biggest handicap is his age; he can have at most six or seven years left, so he moves carefully but pushes for serious changes."

Pelikan believes that Andropov is conscious that he has taken over a potentially tension-filled society after Brezhnev's consumer socialism without ideological basis.

"The Brezhnev leadership's policy increased the people's demand for consumer goods without being able to meet them. In Stalin's time a strongly ideological hold on the people ensured that millions accepted privations. Andropov must either create a totally new understanding with the people or also an



international situation which can be used to gather the people around a privation ideology again. But it is far from the latter which is happening currently."

[Question] Do you not also see a danger in, for example, the new pressure on the Polish leadership, which in the opinion of many observers has meant that Jaruzelski cannot enter into an alliance with the church and thereby reach an understanding with a large part of the opposition?

[Answer] "It is very unclear to me what is the result of external pressure and what of internal when the Polish communists sharpen their tone. The Eastern European countries are more tied to the Soviet Union today than earlier. This is not a result of renewed pressure from Moscow, but the logic of things, especially their economic logic. Even if the Eastern European countries had complete freedom of movement for economic cooperation with the West, they cannot. They simply cannot compete and have a big need for raw materials from the Soviet Union and for the Soviet Union as a market for products unmarketable in the West."

"Andropov has given a strong signal that Eastern Europe is to maintain the economic and political ties to the West because the Soviet Union itself needs advanced technology, grain, and much more."

"The Soviet Union no longer has a need to apply so great pressure when the economic logic itself binds Eastern Europe more. For internal reasons Moscow can also not snatch back to the cold war of Stalin's time as a solution model."

[Question] But Moscow continues to demand complete foreign policy loyalty?

[Answer] "Yes, but foreign policy is also undergoing changes. This is shown by the efforts at normalization with China. Normalization would economically benefit both countries and especially the Soviet Union militarily. It will never get to the old political-ideological alliance between the two countries, but pragmatic normalization will also benefit the international climate. It is also completely obvious that Andropov has a strong desire to bring home a weapons limitation agreement and the revival of detente."

Of the shift in power's concrete meaning for Czechoslovakia, Pelikan says, "The Husak-Bilak era ended with the Brezhnev era. A new leadership must take a course which resembles Kadar's in Hungary. I also want to bring Poland in again, for it is such a course which Jaruzelski is striving toward."

"We, too, who saw Solidarity as an expression of the true interests of Polish workers must acknowledge it as a step forward from the situation before 1980. And this is in no way normalization as in Czechoslovakia. The meeting which took place the other day between Rakowski and Lech Walesa at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk would have been unthinkable in Czechoslovakia and still more unthinkable that the contents were broadcast over radio and TV."

"The germ of pluralism has been created and we will of course see the emergence of trade unions which perhaps do not come to be called Solidarity, but will gain a far more independent position in relation to the party and government machinery than the trade unions before 1980."

"In Hungary the election reform and the new possibilities for still more private control of the economy can also be seen as a step which has the scent of a great deal different from the Brezhnev era."

"It is a decisive improvement when the party-State is no longer the only force controlling development in an Eastern European country."

Pelikan relates that Alexander Dubcek also sees the shift in power in the Kremlin as a signal for a shift in power in Czechoslovakia. Dubcek sent a telegram of congratulation to Andropov when he was elected general secretary of the Soviet party. "And Andropov found his means of thanking for the telegram" which Dubcek sent from his present home in Bratislava.

"The shift in power in Czechoslovakia does not mean Dubcek will be back. This he well knows himself, but he has waited for Brezhnev's death as a prerequisite for at all creating a movement in Czechoslovakia."

Censor Andropov

Pelikan relates that there are many expressions of the fact that the present rulers in Prague fear the new winds from Moscow. "It is indeed fantastic that we are now experiencing the fact that the Soviet general secretary's speeches are being censored in the Czechoslovak press and that many reports regarding the disciplining attempts under way in the Soviet Union are not appearing. In the Czech machinery of power many feel that the charges of corruption and abuse of power are also directed at them."

[Question] In Czechoslovakia an attempt has also been made to buy the people for cooperation by giving them a greater opportunity to operate private businesses. Why has this not produced the results as in Hungary?

[Answer] "Because confidence is lacking that the rulers want something good for the citizens with that type of measure. People think so, that if they invest their money and energy in something the State will come and nationalize it again."

[Question] Visitors to Czechoslovakia meet a relatively well dressed population and in comparison with the Soviet Union, for example, relatively many goods in shops. Is there that great dissatisfaction among ordinary citizens?

[Answer] "In the years directly after the invasion passive resistance was noticeable in broad parts of the population, then resignation spread and the introduction of martial law in Poland in December 1981 convinced many that it was of no use. New generations are growing up and for them the Prague Spring is history. Resignation is giving the regime certain support. One's

job is secure and also the right to not produce so much. Many ordinary people also share the rulers' anxiety over changes, for they are afraid of the consequences for their own standard of living."

#### The Five Miracles

If several family members are working and if one has the opportunity to work on the black market or have an extra job a reasonable standard of living can be maintained, Pelikan thinks, and says:

"The current situation can be illustrated by a popular joke regarding Czechoslovakia's five miracles: The first miracle is that although there is great unemployment under capitalism, all Czechoslovaks have work. The second is that although everyone has a job there is no one who works. The third is that although no one works the quotas are fulfilled 100 percent. The fourth is that although the quotas are fulfilled 100 percent one anyway cannot find what one needs in shops. The fifth miracle is that although one does not find what one wants in a shop everyone finds it anyway."

"This is of course a gross simplification, but there is much to the joke. Many ordinary citizens do not feel the economic stagnation so directly on their bodies. The price increases have the severest consequences for retired people and other marginalized social groups. But no one is hungry and the problems have not received as dramatic expressions as in Poland where the people were driven to the streets to protest the drastically declining standard of living."

#### Technological Lost Ground

The most serious aspect of the stagnation in the Czechoslovak economy is according to Pelikan "the permanent deterioration of the country's technological base. The machinery is becoming worse and worse, the earlier so top-qualified labor force is becoming less and less qualified, we are losing markets and the previously most backward Eastern European countries which are under development are rapidly gaining on us and soon will overtake Czechoslovakia if the trend continues."

But Pelikan believes that the regime can be quite satisfying for people without political or professional interests, but it is "unsatisfying for anyone who, for example, wants a specific job for the sake of its professional content and not with a party book in his hand."

In his view the moral consequences for the society of "normalization" after 1968 can prove to be much more serious than the economic. "There is harm which continues for generations. Generations have been brought up to cynicism. And many potentials have been lost. Of course, it can not be enumerated how many books have not been written in the past 15 years and how many scientific advances have not taken place."

## Must Start Over Again

If the changes which Pelikan and others foresee take place in Czechoslovakia's machinery of power, part of the solution models will have to "be reinvented. One of the big tragedies is that we were well on the way already in 1965 under the leadership of Economist Ota Sik."

"In its main features there can hardly be another way than that which he then pegged out for the economy, which new and more pragmatic party leaders are taking."

## Surmounting of Bloc Politics

In Pelikan's view it must also be of the very greatest interest to the left wing and all democrats in the West to encourage reform measures in the East, however limited they may be. "There is a close connection between reforms in the East and democratic changes in the West."

[Question] You have spoken in favor of new content in the peace policy. What does this mean in this connection?

[Answer] "We are confronted with two opposing views of what detente is. One hitherto has been championed by the Soviet leadership, i.e., that detente is to be based on acknowledgement of the postwar time's political status quo in Europe. This has support in many political and business circles in the West, for they see it as a guarantee against socialist changes in Western Europe. Under detente business people can do good business with the East while at the same time the Eastern countries' lacking success with socialism can be used as discouragement against any form of change in the democratic socialist direction. Real success for Francois Mitterand's French Socialists combined with success for Poland's Solidarity is a threat against the rulers in the East and in the West as well."

"The other view, which I share, is that true detente and arms disarmament require settlement of the bloc partition question. It requires gradual democratization of Eastern Europe. Socialist democratic breakthroughs in Western Europe have the same effect."

"But in the same breath in which this is said, the differences must be pointed out. Since the bloc partition, three dictatorships have fallen in Western Europe, i.e., the Greek, Portuguese and Spanish. They were all the USA's alliance partners, but this did not prevent their fall in favor of democracies. Nothing has happened in opposition to the Eastern Great Power's interests in the European countries."

[Question] Why did you not become a Eurocommunist when you settled in Italy?

[Answer] "I certainly did offer the Italian Communist Party my membership. They wanted me to give up the LISTY newspaper because in spite of dissociation with the invasion they did not want to challenge the Czechoslovak party

unnecessarily. They were afraid that the Soviet Russians would do just as much to destroy the Italian party as they did to destroy the Spanish. The Socialist Party did not impose that type of condition," Pelikan concludes.

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DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF POST-OTTOMAN HUNGARY REVIEWED

Peoples of Historic Hungary

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 4/5, 1982 pp 3-5

[Article by Jenő Szucs: "The Peoples of Medieval Hungary (Part I)" \*; passages in slantlines printed in italics in original source]

[Text] /"In our day, all of Hungary includes diverse peoples; besides the Magyars, there are the Germans, Czechs, Slavs, Croats, Saxons, Szeklers, Rumanians, Serbs, Cumans, Jazygs and Ruthenes...all of whom speak different languages"/, wrote Miklos Olah, the famous humanist, after the Battle of Mohacs in his work entitled /Hungaria/ (1536), adding that villages can be found in the Eger valley where settlers originating from the vicinity of Liege /"speak French to this day"/.

This list of the demographic composition of medieval Hungary errs only in that the Szeklers had been speaking Hungarian for many centuries; actually, by that time, perhaps the majority of Cumans and Jazygs also spoke Hungarian; more noteworthy is that they were continuously considered to be separate peoples. Otherwise, the list may be seen as generally complete. Istvan Werboczy accounted for these same peoples 2 centuries earlier in his Tripartitum, but without including the Szeklers; he did, however, add the Bulgars. Both used the Latin word /natio/, the equivalent of which in old Hungarian usage was /nemzet [nation]/ or /nemzetseg [clan]/ (the latter was also used in the sense of "people" or "nationality"). Thus, it is not a contrived modernization to speak of nationalities.

Barely two of the dozen names of peoples from this tableau of nationalities could be traced to the distant past, to the age before the year 1000, and even those only in the context of some explanation. The Hungarian state was the framework for the development of the great majority of them. Medieval history of nationalities was essentially the history of settlements, or as expressed in that age, the history of "the recruitment of peoples" /(congregatio populorum)/.

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\*The concluding part of this article will be carried in our next issue. [The next issue of HISTORIA did not carry a concluding article by Jenő Szucs. Several articles on the topic of Hungary in the middle ages, however did appear. See HISTORIA No 1, 1983 pp 1-12; 28-33.]

## The "Avar Wilderness" and the Heritage of Etelkoz

When shortly after the Magyar conquest of Hungary, in the year 900, Theotmar the Archbishop of Salzburg, depicted the situation in Pannonia to the Pope, he mentioned exclusively the Slavs in speaking of /"the peoples of the land"/, noting that the territory was /"uninhabited"/ for many days' journey. In view of the essence, despite great research efforts, we can say nothing more today. The Avars and the earlier peoples swept here during the migratory storms, e.g., the Gepidae whose survivors were evidently by and large absorbed by the Slav population, more exactly, by its various ethnic units (Moravians, Carantanian Slovenes and Bulgarian Slavs) which lived more or less independently of each other in either dense or totally scattered settlements throughout the /"Avar wilderness"/--as the western chroniclers of the time had a penchant for calling the sparsely populated area within the whole of the Carpathian basin. However, the Slavs mentioned in Theotmar's letter and the "natio" appearing as the third entry on Miklos Olah's list with the identical name /(Sclavi)/ have very little in common. By the 12th century, the descendants of the large majority of the Slavs living around 900 were totally assimilated into the Hungarian people, not only in Transdanubia, but also within the line from the valleys of the northern mountainous forest region to the Mezőség region of Transylvania, and from there to the Szeremseg which encircled the contiguous Magyar settlements. In the end, an interrelated mass of Moravian Slavs only remained in the northwestern mountainous territory, particularly in the valley of the Vág and Nyitra, who were the core of the present-day Slovaks. However, the Slovak people only emerged during the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, as a result of mass settlements. Initially, the Magyars probably called all the Slavs found in this area /Tot/, which of course had no derogatory connotation at all before the modern age; at most, it was an observational generalization. That is, the designation was passed on from the name the Gepidae called themselves (/Thuat/, originally meaning "people"), to the population which assimilated them and which, in the eyes of the Magyars, was considered the "people" to be found there. Then when the masses of Slavs were assimilated, the new Slav settlers were called by their distinctive ethnic names: Czechs, Poles, Croats, etc.; the "Tot" (/Sclavus/) designation was restricted to, on the one hand, the group remaining in the north, and on the other--without any distinction--to the population of the territory south of the Dráva which was conquered in 1091 (/Slavonia/, or "Tot country" in Hungarian)/.

This is one of the thin connecting strands between the onetime "Avar wilderness" and the list of Miklos Olah. The other, the Szeklers, were considered a separate /natio/ only by the particular concepts of the age; it may well be that originally they were probably one of the Magyars' earliest, very archaic "nationalities". Their ancestors are thought to be of the Khazar ethnic group, which joined the seven Magyar tribes after revolting against the Kaganite circa 860 (hence /Kabar/, i.e., the collective term for "uprising") in order to occupy the Carpathian basin with them. According to substantial assumptions, the Szeklers are the descendants of a Bulgar-Turk ethnic group named /Eszkil (Eszekel)/ living beside the Volga, although it must be mentioned that the question of the origins of the Szeklers is truly one of history's riddles which perhaps will never be solved. It is certain that the Szeklers became magyarized very early on; if they were by and large considered a separate people, it can be explained

by the preservation of their peculiar social organization and customary legal system and not lastly by their classification as a "political nation" in the feudal structure of Transylvania in the late Middle Ages. Incidentally, for example, the chronicler Janos Thuroczy in the 15th century considered the Szeklers "as a part of the nation" /(pars nationis)/ and as Hungarians in an almost modern sense, just as Werboczy, as we have seen, did not think of them as a separate "nation".

#### The First Wave of Settlements

The other elements of Miklos Olah's list were "guests" /(hospes)/--as the newcomers were called during that age--of the Hungarian state after 1000. If the influx of immigrants from both the west and the east already began towards the end of the 11th century and then intensified in every succeeding century, the explanation is that the transformation of the "Avar wilderness" into a Christian feudal monarchy represented a unique attractive force in both directions, although its content was different in the western than in the eastern direction.

In the western direction, the attractive force fundamentally consisted of demographic strain. It is true that by circa 1100 this formerly classic territory for migrations was far from a "wilderness", but since its population density of 3-4 inhabitants per square kilometer hardly exceeded the average of the time, it still seemed "empty" compared to the west, where the population density was typically much more than this (even in the neighboring areas it was much higher); moreover, beyond the Rhine there was already, relatively speaking, a decided overpopulation. It was characteristic that when the mass settlements were already fully in effect and the country's population was double that of 1000, we could still read in the description of a French Dominican that there were many cities, castles, fortifications and /"numerous villages"/ in Hungary, /"nevertheless it still appears empty due to the size of this country"/ (1308). The allure was also intensified by the country's exceptionally fertile land and the sight of rich grain stacks, which prompted the not exactly sympathetic Bishop Otto of Freising in the mid-12th century to compare the land /"to God's paradise or Egypt"/. Moreover, he attributed the fact that "human monsters" of this kind --who were "barbarians" not long ago--were in possession of such a gift to God's characteristic patience.

However, in the eastern direction, the attractive force affected those ethnic groups which were driven westward by the recurring waves of the steppe migrations during the course of three centuries--only by this time, it was no longer toward a western "wilderness" but instead to the gates of a Christian state, where they either attempted to gain entrance or were dissolved. Thus the peculiar situation came about that while from one side the typical settlers of earlier centuries arriving from Christian Europe's most developed--and at the same time, most overpopulated--regions were the Walloon peasant and city dweller from northern France (/ "Latinus"/--in Hungarian, they were called /Olasz/ [Italian]; many /Olaszi/ place names mark their settlements throughout the country), on the other hand, the numerous fleeing groups and fragments of the Pecheneg people, the former nomad arch-enemy, settled in different districts (in the 11th and 12th centuries, close to 100 villages may be verified from the sources), but there



were also other nomad fragments, e.g., the /Oguz/. The dual nature of the early settlements is clearly shown by the fact that while on the one hand, the first group of Transylvanian Saxons entered the country at the "invitation" / (advocationem) / of King Geza II, on the other hand, this same king sent a delegation to the vicinity of Saksin beside the Volga to / "recruit Muslims and Turks" / (= Pechenegs) / "who are good archers" / (1151). The eastern, even oriental, shades of the early composition of the nationalities in Hungary were intensified by the fact that before the Mongol invasion, the country was virtually sprinkled with the military settlements and trading colonies of groups which were ethnically mainly northern Iranian, Khwarezm / (Kaliz) /, Alani / (Oszlar, Varsany) / from the Caucasus, and those of the Muslim faith / (Boszormeny) /, in old Hungarian [Translator's Note: collective term for Muslim traders] --with Pest at the helm, along with the above-mentioned ancestors of the archaic, Khazar "nationalities" of the Hungarians, which were joined from the east by newer groups continually migrating in, especially from Volga-Bulgaria. Between the two poles, scattered about in almost every county of the country, many dozens of /Nemeti/ [German] as well as /Csehi/ [Czech], /Toti/ [Slovak], /Lengyeli/ [Polish], /Horvati/ [Croat] and /Oroszi/ [Russian] place names attest to the ethnicity of the early settlers. This type of place name only occurred in the 11th and 12th centuries; the /-falu/ [-village] suffix is characteristic of later ages.

#### The Fate of the Early Settlers

If someone in circa 1200 would have assembled a list similar to Miklos Olah's, it would have rivaled one written after 1500 with its abundance but--as we have seen--it would primarily contain the names of different peoples. There is a first chapter to medieval history of the nationalities in the area of ethnic continuity which is virtually lost. That is, the first great wave of settlers were for the most part gradually assimilated into the Hungarians by the 14th century at the latest. Did anyone want to assimilate them? Hardly, since the basic principles of St Stephen's "Admonitions" were implemented from the beginning: the admission of / "guests arriving from different areas and provinces ...bringing different languages, customs and examples...ornaments the country" / because / "a country possessing only one language and custom is weak and fragile" /. The concept proclaiming the usefulness of national diversity complemented the other axiom which also originated with St Stephen and may be read in his first Decretum: / "All peoples live according to their own laws" /, i.e., their customary laws are to be respected. The "nationality policy" principles formulated circa 1010 were not taken in their present-day meaning; it is also true that Stephen's Sententiae were still primarily directed toward priests and knights, and only in time were they reinterpreted to include peasant and burgher settlers. We are not even speaking of some special Hungarian principles since the second Sentencia is taken word for word from an early medieval Bavarian law book. The general attitudes of the Middle Ages were also rooted in Hungary where, in sharp contrast to the age of nationalism, on the one hand, national diversity was considered an asset--and not diabolically bad--and on the other, the traditions and rights--"customs"--of peoples were respected as a specific value and almost as sacred. It may be read verbatim in the first settlement charters of the Walloon Bodrogolacier (1201) and the privilegia of the / "first guests" / of Transylvania, the German Karako, Igen (Krapundorf) and Rams (1206) that the settlement villages could lead their own lives "according to the rituals (= traditions and customary laws) / of their peoples" /.

An example which is known exceptionally well from source materials and which is additionally an extreme example sheds light with particular clarity on how and why assimilation took place in this early age. It is an extreme example because, as it happens, it concerns a settlement group of the Muslim faith (ethnically probably Kaliz); however, St Laszlo and King Kalman at the urging of the Church attempted to achieve the forced assimilation of the Muslims and their intermingling with the Christian population--purely for religious and not "nationality" reasons--by law. Their efforts were in vain, because when these "Boszormeny" villages /(*villae Ismaelitarum*)/ are mentioned in documents, they are one after the other shown to be closed communities, under the direction of their own "ispans" and "elders". What is more, when the Islamic wandering preacher born in Granada, Abu Hamid al-Andalusi II spent 3 years in Hungary (1151-1153) to reinstate the already half-forgotten Islamic rituals (/ "I taught the Koran"/--he writes), he traveled throughout the country with King Geza II's permission; he had access to the court, and admiringly acknowledges of the king that / "he permitted the Muslims to publically practice their faith...he liked the Muslims."/ Thus, no one threatened either the ethnic nor even the religious affiliation of the military settlement-group of 30 villages in the Delvidek with whom Abu Hamid still communicated in their mother tongue and from where two generations later, circa 1220, young men wishing to study appeared in Aleppo. However, by then, their / "Frankish"/ (= western Christian) / "customs"/ were questioned, to which they answered: / "We speak the language of the Magyars ...those of us who bear arms shave our beards and dress according to Frankish customs"/. No one compelled them to do this, nor did they complain about it. They themselves provided the answer: / "We are surrounded by Christians on all sides"/. As is generally known, attire was a demonstrative expression of ethnic identity in these early times; it was not without reason that in 1279, the Cumans cast into law their willingness to be baptized and to settle down--/"except for cutting off their hair and beards, and changing their dress"/.

With the initial abandonment of the language and "customs" of the Kaliz ethnic group in question, they already were on the road to spontaneous assimilation between 1150 and 1220, simply because they were wedged into the Magyar ethnic bloc in the Szeremseg--whereas, in addition, this was a larger group consisting of 30 villages. But the majority of the early settlements which colored the country's ethnic complexion were scattered, or in isolated village communities or urbanized settlements, because this was required in part, by the early Magyar kingdom's military viewpoints and especially its economic interests--that the plentiful, fertile / "empty land"/ which at that time was still readily available in the country's interior, lowland and grassy regions be ploughed in as many places as possible--the overwhelming majority being on royal estates at the time. And in these interior regions, the settlement villages--to repeat the explanation given in Aleppo--"were surrounded by Magyars", starting with the / "Latinus"/ through the early German and Slav immigrants to the Pechenegs; thus they were sooner or later assimilated in the Magyar people. The Walloons ("Latinus") of the Eger valley who are mentioned by Miklos Olah were among the few exceptions. However, they were already the descendants of a new age, of the settlers living in the second half of the 13th century.

In the 1200's, the geographic as well as the legal framework of settlement-- "the recruitment of peoples"--changed; moreover, its social background also changed radically. This turn of events points directly towards the development of the country's particular nationality structure--towards the dozen "nations" of Miklos Olah.

#### Hungarian Continuity in Transylvania

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 4/5 1982 pp 5-7

[Article by Ferenc Szakaly: "What Maintained the Hungarian Nationality During Foreign Occupation?"]

[Text] Pal Thuri, pedagogue of Tolna, provides a detailed description of the devious methods with which the Turks compelled their Magyar subjects to adopt the Moslem faith. Although others also provide many similar examples, the occupiers, due to sound political and economic considerations, did not openly force the conversion of the peasants in the conquered territories. However, at the same time, it is also true that they gladly accepted and, in general, richly rewarded every convert. Truthfully it would not be surprising if many from the Christian population groaning under the backbreaking weight of Turkish rule would have chosen this otherwise easy road of escape. That is, conversion--excluding the rite of circumcision--was essentially a formal act which did not preclude that the apostate continued to protect and nurture his original religion.

In reality, many of the Greeks, Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, etc., who came under Turkish domination, chose this method of ameliorating their fate, already in the 15th century. Before long, the apostates constituted the basic core of the local "Turkish" power structure throughout the Balkans, and generally the moslemized Southern Slavs and Greeks also played a significant role in the administration of the realm. Since the Turks were becoming a tiny minority within their constantly expanding empire, their conversion greatly contributed to maintaining the proportion of Moslem elements at a level which did not drop below the minimum necessary to administer the system; and it also contributed to aiding the Turkish army to almost magically recover from those enormous losses which it seemed to suffer on the various battlefields with almost timetable precision.

Travelers in the Turkish empire often met apostates of Magyar extraction who professed--and perhaps also felt--themselves to be "true" Turks, and often they served the interests of the empire more efficiently than native-born Turks. However it should be noted that, as is well known, these apostates came from the ranks of captives languishing in the prisons of the empire without any hope and who were almost exclusively torn out of Magyar society and taken away in their childhood. During the 150 years of Turkish rule, there were hardly any examples of peasant-burgers of the "peasant towns" or of village peasants becoming "Turks" of their own free will--purely in the expectation of advantages. This is all the more surprising because initially, the peasantry was not nearly as hostile to the conquerors as one would have inferred from the developments. Around the mid-16th century, many "peasant town" burgers assumed positions in the Turkish revenue administration, and there were many among them who immediately became fief holders as a result of their services.

The conquered Magyars vigorously and consistently preserved their autonomy, also in the face of other nationalities--especially the Serbs--which were advancing forward step by step in the territories under Turkish occupation. Since the constant warfare which accompanied the Turkish conquest and forward advance primarily affected, that is, decimated the Magyars because of their geographic location, the nationalities which formerly lived on the borders of the kingdom advanced toward the center of the country from every direction. Although the Slovaks and Rumanians gained significant territory, the Serbs' northward advance was the most conspicuous and had the most consequences. The evacuated lowland territories represented an irresistible attraction to the Serbs who lived under fairly miserable conditions in their ancestral homeland; by the 17th century, they were already considerably widespread in Transdanubia. After the catastrophe of the "15 Years War" (1593-1606), the strip extending from the Danube to Zarand county became a closed Southern Slav bloc, and by the last third of the 17th century, Serb settlements in Transdanubia reached the level of Buda. The Serbs, who were well adapted to Turkish customs and enjoyed the blessings of the occupiers, were more loyal to Turkish rule than any other nationality; their population growth greatly contributed to the consolidation of Turkish rule in Hungary. Although certain economic and human contact did perforce develop between Magyars and Serbs, they essentially lived side by side isolated, without any intermingling and in considerable hostility.

As of yet, our historiography has hardly examined the reasons for the spiritual resistance against the Turks and the isolation from the Greek Orthodox ethnic groups which carried foreign customs--obviously, because from the start, it suspected an awareness of some sort of a qualitative difference and an unapproachable western Christian ethos behind this phenomenon. Basically, this is true; only there necessarily had to be a whole series of internal and external factors--stemming from both compulsion and voluntary acceptance--for all of this to succeed and survive.

All the specific features of Turkish-occupied Hungary emerged because Hungary was the only Christian state which the Turks only partially succeeded in incorporating; it is obvious that this was also the most important external factor in the survival of the Magyars under occupation, and at the same time, through many transitions. The former ruling classes of the totally conquered countries either disappeared or were assimilated by the Turks and the awareness of a historical state and autonomy embodied in them was either lost or became rigidified--usually assuming an ecclesiastical nature. This was not the case in Hungary when the nobility--both Hapsburg Hungarian and Transylvanian--of the forcefully partitioned country vied with each other to provide newer and newer answers to the questions posed by the age. The guardians of Hungarian history, the nation and consciousness of mission--moreover, of selectedness--forged together the traditional and newer elements, transmitted by the great ecclesiastical renewal of this concept with admirable skill and flexibility.

Although this ideology comprised of the old and new was fundamentally the "property" of the nobility, it also affected and found further advocates in the conquered Magyar society--bereft of its nobility. The borders between the

conquered, i.e., royal Hungary and Transylvania, were essentially always open to the Magyars--but only to the Magyars--and for many reasons which cannot be detailed here, it was not in the interests of the Turkish apparatus to change this situation. The merchants, peasants, students and clerics who traveled back and forth brought not only goods but also the knowledge that the Magyar state, Church, i.e., churches after the mid-16th century, and Magyar culture lived on beyond the borders, and the belief that those living under occupation --subjugated by and also serving the Turks--were members of the one and indivisible Magyar society.

This of course brought bitter obligations in its wake. First, from the moment of the Turkish occupation, those born as commoners had to pay taxes not only to the Turks but also to the Magyar landowners, Church and state. Of course, everyone would have gladly been freed of this obligation, regardless of their attitudes toward their Magyar lords, but it was not even possible to "forget" about it, since in that event, the Magyar soldiers of the border forts appeared presently to impress upon the tardy with fists and sabers that the Magyar state still lives and that the ruffled Magyar power structure was still capable of striking.

In general and viewed in the long run, the grievous burden which made the lives of both individuals and small communities difficult and obstructed their economy unambiguously served the survival of occupied Hungary--especially since the taxation preserved the position of Magyar feudalism under occupation during the critical 16th century, the nobility living outside the country in the 17th century "reclaimed" most of its public administrative and legal functions which earlier seemed to be lost forever. In vain did the Turkish apparatus function, or the divan or cadi administer justice; before long, only the unoccupied Magyar forums--primarily the counties of nobles and their courts of law--could hand down authoritative decisions for Magyars. (At the same time, the problematic affairs of the Southern Slavs living under occupation continued to be handled exclusively by the Turkish courts.)

Magyar legislation formulated the concept of "Turkishness" as a crime to be prosecuted ex officio to buttress the legal positions obtained through everyday practice. In the beginning of the 17th century, this ingeniously simple legal fiction aimed at preventing the Magyar estates who were(also) forced to rely on Turkish aid in the struggle against the Hapsburgs from forming an excessively close relationship with the "natural enemy". However, the interested counties under occupation later extended the force of the law enacted to achieve this goal to almost every legal transaction of substance. If someone turned to the Turkish authorities with matters of inheritance, property, divorce or with complaints affecting Magyar constitutional interests, he could be sure of shortly receiving a summons from the official attorney of the concerned county with jurisdiction, and of not coming through it cheaply. For example, in 1677 the county of Heves-Kulso-Szolnok had Istvan Miskey, nobleman from Gyongyos, beheaded because he entered into a real estate deal with a Turk from Vac and dragged the other claimant before a Turkish court.

The instruments of Magyar feudalism could reestablish all their administrative and legal positions because, as time went on, the executive organs of the occupied territories were slowly developed. The counties of noblemen did not

cease their operations even during the 16th century; however, their activities, without the appropriate local support, were purely formal, and even in the best case, only supplemented the similar activities of the Turkish authorities. The situation changed in the 17th century; the Magyar authorities set the rules which were at best, seconded by the Turkish apparatus. The goodly number of peasants of the "peasant towns" and villages who had become ennobled served as the extensions of the occupied nobles' counties and, as the so-called "occupation magistrates" and "jurors", assumed the majority of the tasks during the occupation; at the same time, they lived in occupation settlements, serving as the eyes and ears of the noblemen's counties.

Thus, it could be easily understood why there were few Magyar peasants under occupation who would tie their fate to a power which was not master of the situation on its own territory and whose very existence was called into question by everyday practices. They must have quickly realized if they made a mistake, since the soldiers of the border forts, who also acted as the coercive instruments of Magyar feudalism, would search them out in the remotest corner of the country; by the 17th century, they "ruled" the occupied territories to such an extent that the double tax-paying population did not have a moment's peace from them.

Of course, this extreme external pressure could have just as easily caused the occupied Magyar people to join ranks with the Turks and before long, to lose its distinguishing features. That this did not occur even in the middle third of the 16th century when the Turkish advance seemed unrelenting also necessitated vigorous internal motivation: the kind that could also capture the occupied Magyar population and bind it to the special Magyar outward manifestations of western thought. We must recognize this powerful source of strength in the inspiration of the Reformation, which was spreading like wildfire.

The Reformation--which the Magyar pioneers derived from the purest sources--the intellectualities of Wittenberg and Geneva--affected the Magyars at the best possible moment, when they were swept into a crisis of self-evaluation. Of course, here we do not so much mean that it provided ideas and sources to develop concepts which helped resolve the vicissitudes befalling the country in the Magyar value system. Rather, in this context, the efforts aimed at reviving the mother tongue and mobilizing wide segments of society deserve special attention.

The early Reformation was initially forced to appeal to the masses in the interests of overcoming the Catholic Church, which had been sole ruler until then, and in order to do this, before all else it had to translate the Holy Scriptures into the language understood by the masses. The endeavors related to this caused the stirring of native literature to an unbelievable extent in every country it affected, which was by no means restricted to theology, but also spread to many areas of scholarship and literature. Since all of this would have been worthless without the expansion of lower-level education, there were extraordinary efforts made during the Reformation to expand schooling and raise its standards. The first results of this were quickly manifested in the youth of the Magyar "peasant towns" who--not in the least because of the occupation--began to visit the leading foreign universities of the age in previously unimagined numbers and

upon returning home, tried to spread their newly gained high-quality knowledge in the towns they had started out from.

The fact that a minister serving in unoccupied territories produced scholarly works which were even recognized in western countries does not necessarily mean that the Reformation really strengthened the occupied population's consciousness of belonging to western culture and thereby aided in preserving its Magyar heritage. Nevertheless, we have no reason for doubt, since a multitude of sources bears witness to the enormous sacrifices made by Magyar merchants of the occupied territories, or those who originated there, in the interests of establishing the Reformation; to the small and large humanist circles formed by the bourgeoisie everywhere with the support of a minister having great stature; to the peasants who were not just listeners but also active participants in the religious debates, or rather, in the choosing or changing of their own religious attitudes; to the occupied communities which veritably competed with each other for famous preachers and pedagogues; to the peasant-burghers who not only bought books but who occasionally took pen in hand to profess their feelings; to the lyrical creations of the Reformation (especially the Psalms) which became part of Magyar cultural heritage, etc., etc.

And if the above is not convincing, let us cite the sacrifices which were brought by the occupied communities, under pressure from many sides, to maintain their schools in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is impossible to note without emotion that even in the most destitute of times there was hardly a village where the children were uncared for in this respect. In 1651, no fewer than 122 boys attended school in the tiny village of Szabadszallas in Kiskunsag--so many, in fact, that it is hardly believable based on the population of the community.

Of course, it would be unfair to attribute all the factors which served to maintain the existence of the Magyar people to the Reformation--if only because the Catholic Church, which was considerably supplanted, shortly adopted the tactics of its adversary in the areas of Magyar language and public instruction. Although not as colorful as the reformers, the Franciscan and Jesuit orders and the lay priests may also be credited with the fact that the occupied Magyar people remained Magyar.

Most probably all these internal and external factors jointly caused the Turkish rule to fall off the shoulders of the Magyar population, which by this time was heartrendingly decreased, and after even 150 years, to leave behind--aside the many traces of destruction--all told only a few motifs as souvenirs.

#### New Settlers by Invitation

Budapest HISTORIA in Hungarian No 4/5, 1982 pp 8-11

[Article by Imre Wellmann: "Resettlement After the Turkish Era"]

[Text] No sooner had the crescent finally been removed from the tower of the castle of Buda after one and a half centuries, the peasantry, primarily the Magyar, immediately began streaming in from "Hapsburg Hungary", which had

remained under Hapsburg control, to the recaptured areas to lay the foundations for a new life. The host of reclaimers and immigrants from the west were shortly joined by the Germans, and the Southern Slavs flocked to the country's southern regions from the Balkans, which remained under Turkish rule. However, the victorious assault at Buda on 2 September 1686 secured control of only the country's center from Turkish hands, for the time being. The war of liberation continued for another 13 years, and it was accompanied by devastation comparable to that of the previous one and a half centuries. Four years after the conclusion of the peace treaty with the Turks, the Rakoczi insurrection broke out to which numerous renascent settlements again fell victim. The plague which raged from 1708 to 1712 only added to the devastation.

A Magyar from King Matthias' era would scarcely have recognized his homeland in circa 1711. Often only the names of the hundreds of farmsteads extending over the southern and central regions of the country were reminders of the originally populous communities. Former ploughfields were overgrown by scrub, a sea of weeds ruled over them, vineyards were left fallow, water flowed totally unchecked over the deforested plains and the forests and shrubs had conquered the hilly regions. At the time of the Peace of Szatmar, the population of Hungary was estimated at less than 4 million which was less than it was two hundred years before. The Magyars incurred the most serious casualties: over and above the fact that for one and a half centuries they had carried on ceaselessly, the murderous struggle against the conquerors mainly in the vicinity of the border forts and the immense trials of the difficult times primarily affected the peasant who all along persevered on his ancient land and who felt most at home in the plains and hilly regions which hardly provided any natural protection. However, the other peoples of the country gladly withdrew to the safety of the mountains and forests, and often, the mobile pastoral lifestyle also helped them to avoid imminent danger. From 1711, an unprecedented long period of peace followed the seemingly endless devastation of war and poverty. During the 18th century, there were hardly any disturbances in the country except for the Turkish wars of Karoly III and Joszef II (1716-18; 1737-39; 1787-88) and the peasant movements. It is true that between 1738 and 1744, the population was again decimated by a serious plague and Serbs and Rumanians occasionally also emigrated, but the national reproductive rate of 6-12 percent and the voluntary immigration and the organized settlements not only counterbalanced but surpassed these many times.

#### Voluntary Immigration

The voluntary immigration from beyond the Carpathians--that of the Ruthenes and especially the Rumanians--was in large part caused by internal resettlements. For centuries, peasant masses from the surrounding territories streamed into the central and southern parts of the country which were most likely to have a diminished population and which were the most seriously devastated areas. Just as during the war of reconquest, the Magyar peasants were the first and therefore, to an overwhelming degree, those who started to leave the areas which were secure from Turkish conquest and who established the final basis of a new life alongside their fellow peasants who had already survived the greatest hardships there; in places they were also joined by Slovakian immigrants. Until the middle of the century, the counties and landowners were largely unsuccessful in blocking the serf migration which expanded into a veritable peasant movement targeting the



lowlands and the southern half of Transdanubia, until the opportunities for settlement there were gradually exhausted. Despite the threats and bans, a significant portion of the population of former "Hapsburg Hungary" implemented its aspirations to create the conditions for a freer and better life without the bonds of eternal serfdom on the fertile land which seemed to be almost unowned. And as they advanced into the former Turkish territories, their places were taken by the Slovaks, Ruthenes and Rumanians who lived in the higher situated valleys. While the shepherd sons of the two latter peoples took possession of the hearths and furnishings left behind by the Magyars who had moved on and together with these, adapted to a primarily agricultural lifestyle, their brothers assumed their original places as they seeped across the Carpathian passes. In particular, the Rumanians expanded further: they became the majority in Transylvania and they comprised a significant proportion of the population in the neighboring counties of Hungary and in the Bansag. Large numbers of Southern Slavs, primarily Serbs, found homes in this latter territory, in the Bacska and in the southeastern part of Transdanubia; their vintners and merchants also struck roots in larger areas further north.

### Organized Settlements

The country's population was increased mostly by Germans as a result of the organized settlements. Before all else, the landowners who obtained new lands in the recaptured areas or those who laboriously regained the old family estates, strove to make their sparsely populated properties prosperous by inviting "Schwabians". The Viennese court aided their endeavor by announcing patents in the southwestern part of the German Empire which urged resettlement and, in time, it restricted the influx of those elements not possessing sufficient financial resources to maintain an independent existence. Many of the people living in the relatively densely populated areas along the upper reaches of the Rhine and the Danube who were, in part, struggling with problems of survival and, in part, were threatened by French expansion, grabbed at the opportunity to start a new life in Hungary where, according to rumors, wheat grew from rye seeds and gold grew on grapevines. Then, in the 1720's, a significant number of settlers were brought down the Danube at state expense. That is, Vienna thought it important to increase the strength of the Monarchy by also increasing the size of the population; but the "population policy" was subordinated to the interests of politics and the Counterreformation. The state settlements were essentially directed at the Bansag which was recaptured for the second time and which, until 1778, was neither handled nor considered as an integral part of Hungary, but rather as the personal property of the ruler. Besides increasing the population, the settlement of Catholic Germans there also served the purpose of isolating the Magyars, especially the Protestants, using the reliable population of Temeskoz--the Greek Orthodox Serbs were also considered as such--so that they could not form contacts with the Turks. This attitude of the Viennese court did not change even after the Magyar willingness to help against the Prussian attack was what decisively saved Maria Theresa's throne. Even after this, they gladly admitted Germans, Italians, French and Spanish alongside the Serbs, Rumanians and other Balkan peoples into the Bansag. It is true that during the course of the second Turkish campaign of Karoly III (1737-39), the pillaging of the invading enemy and other local inhabitants and the devastation of the plague ruined the promising results of the German settlement there, but in 1763, after

the conclusion of the 7-Year War, Maria Theresa again began the mass settlement of "Schwabians" into the Bansag; later Jozsef II was to do the same in the Bacska and certain other crown territories. Despite great expenses, the measures urged by the queen produced only partially satisfactory results; that is, the Bansag administration, which was subordinate to Vienna, was not sufficiently equipped to handle the settlement of immigrants arriving en masse in large numbers nor to provide them with necessities. The settlement previously realized in Bacska by Grassalkovich, the president of the Magyar Treasury, proved to be far better grounded and more fruitful, because instead of trying to increase the number of inhabitants at any cost, the designated goal was the reconquest of the devastated regions for the purpose of cultivation through the establishment of stable new farmsteads which were primarily worked by Magyar peasants, in addition to Germans.

Between the two world wars, German historians attributed too much significance to the role of German settlers in Hungary in the rebuilding of the country during the 18th century. According to them, the Germans were the ones who ensured the victory of the grain-cultivating peasants over the Asiatic nomadic animal breeders; they were the ones who opened up the pastures of the steppe to the plough; they were the ones to transform the natural landscape into a cultivated one; the reconstruction of the devastated country was reserved for them; they provided the examples for the methods and organized forms of settlements, and in all respects, they became the teachers of all other peoples; in farming, they domesticated new types of plants and animals and introduced more advanced implements and modern methods; they were the ones to establish modern factories and independent community living; they created the conditions for free development; and the Magyar peasantry became a useful member of the collective under their influence.

#### Foreign and Magyar Rebuilders

In reality, the majority of those willing to relocate in Hungary were not those who possessed secure foundations and livelihoods at home. Many among them were either adventurers or fortune seekers who were already separated from agriculture and who did not satisfactorily meet the requirements of a successful settler; they expected to receive ready-made houses, equipment and cultivated lands free of charge, and when they were confronted with the difficult work of tilling the soil, they moved on; not a few of them succumbed to the unfamiliar circumstances and illnesses. Generally the fact that at the large state settlements, the settlers received house-building materials, equipment and provisions in advance until the first harvest had a deleterious effect; when the time came for repayment and the assumption of responsibilities, they encountered insurmountable difficulties. The ones who were most able to hold their ground were those who attempted to create new livelihoods on their own energies instead of relying on aid; in this way, the most viable were selected out. The thriving of the "Schwabian" settlements was often a result of the diligent and thrifty work of the first generation that grew up in the country; thus, they became useful elements of the reconstruction. The support they received from the start played no small part in this. Their efforts and knowledge were not needed to introduce street-lined villages and the three-field rotational system in agriculture, which had been practiced by the Magyars for a long time; their

housing sites and land were already appropriately measured out in advance. And not only did they receive necessary initial aid in construction, equipment, cultivation and provisioning, but their grace period was also longer than that of the Magyars, their burdens were more moderate and they could enjoy the right of free movement.

It is instructive to compare this to the conditions under which the Magyar serfs who came from areas free of Turkish rule performed the lion's share of reconstruction in the devastated regions. Generally they were not invited; as a matter of fact, they were often driven away, especially if they were Calvinists, so that their places might be given to German Catholics. While the latter were generally settled where at least the vestiges of the foundations created earlier by the indigenous dwellers were still present, the Magyars, in numerous instances, settled in totally uninhabited places with only the most necessary livestock and meager equipment which were wrested from the grip of their former landowners with great difficulty, and began their task under the most arduous conditions. Usually, neither their homesites nor their fields, used in an agricultural system considered modern, were measured out, and the landowner, building his power, put greater burdens on them sooner, and before long, subjugated them into the conditions of serfs eternally tied to the land. They could not rely on anything but their own efforts and experience. According to the Viennese government's own evaluation, the settlers in the Bansag did not manage to get to the point where they could extricate themselves from the constraints of the traditional rotational system by the introduction of fallow land; in truth, Magyar peasants provided the basis for freer methods of cultivation which foreshadowed progress by developing the detached form of agriculture. It was not their fault that they were unable to participate in the reconstruction to a greater extent; rather it was partly the fault of the Viennese court which did not allow them to settle in areas of their country which were in close proximity to the Turkish borders, and partly the fault of the landowners who secured the right of not having to repopulate the plains for 32 years, calculated from the original time of depopulation; thus, free of both state taxes and church titles, they alone were able to derive profit from the exclusively noble lands, as they pleased. As a result, more and more Magyar peasants in the reclaimed territories were left without land due to population growth while, on the other hand, large numbers of farmsteads practically inviting inexpensive settlement continued to remain uninhabited; it is still conspicuous on the present-day map of the country that there are large distances wedged between the communities, especially in the lowland plains.

On the basis of historical sources, it is difficult to provide a numerical picture of the results of the reoccupation that took place in the regions which were reclaimed from the Turks as a result of the strenuous work carried out amidst inhuman difficulties by the Magyars and, in addition, the Germans, Slovaks, Ruthenes, Southern Slavs, Rumanians and other peoples. But the fact alone that the population of Hungary more than doubled, to approximately 10 million, by 1790 and that simultaneously, not only did agrarian exports increase but significant agricultural surpluses remained unsold, eloquently testifies to the extraordinary development of the productive forces. And all this occurred in an age which earlier historians tended to label as a century of decline, devoid of national feeling.



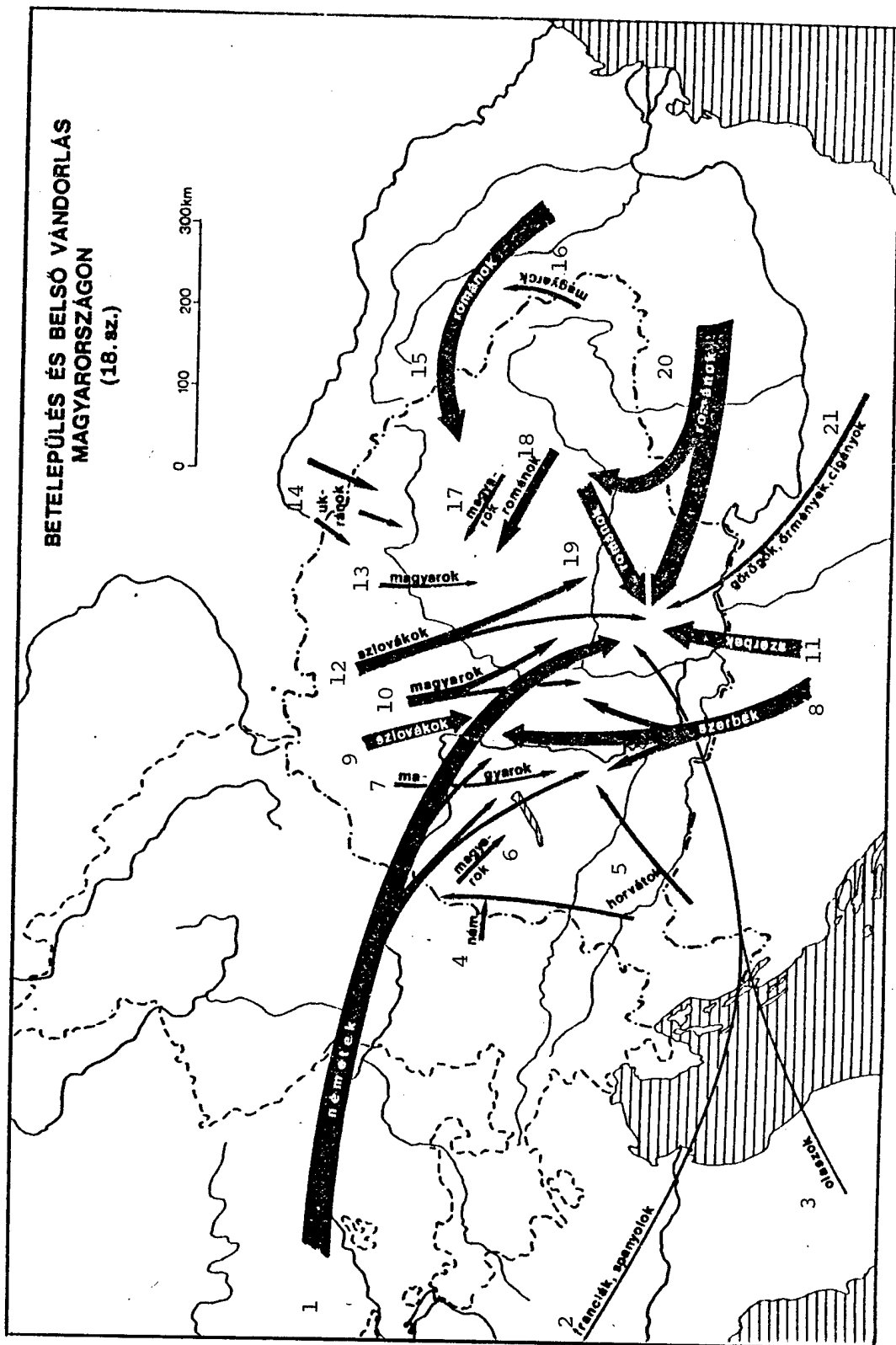
Magyarország néprajzi térképe a 15. században (Kniezsa István: A magyarság és a nemzetiségek /Bp. 1940/ című könyvéből)

Ethnographic Map of Hungary in the 15th Century  
(from Istvan Kniezsa: "The Magyars and the Nationalities" /Budapest, 1940/)

Key:

- 1. Magyar
- 2. German
- 3. Mixed Magyar/German
- 4. Northern Slav
- 5. Southern Slav
- 6. Mixed Magyar/Slav
- 7. Rumanian
- 8. Uninhabited

(Szerkesztette: Palovics Lajos)



Settlements and Internal Migrations in Hungary  
(18th Century)

(Prepared by: Lajos Palovics)

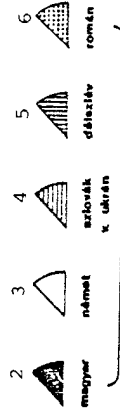
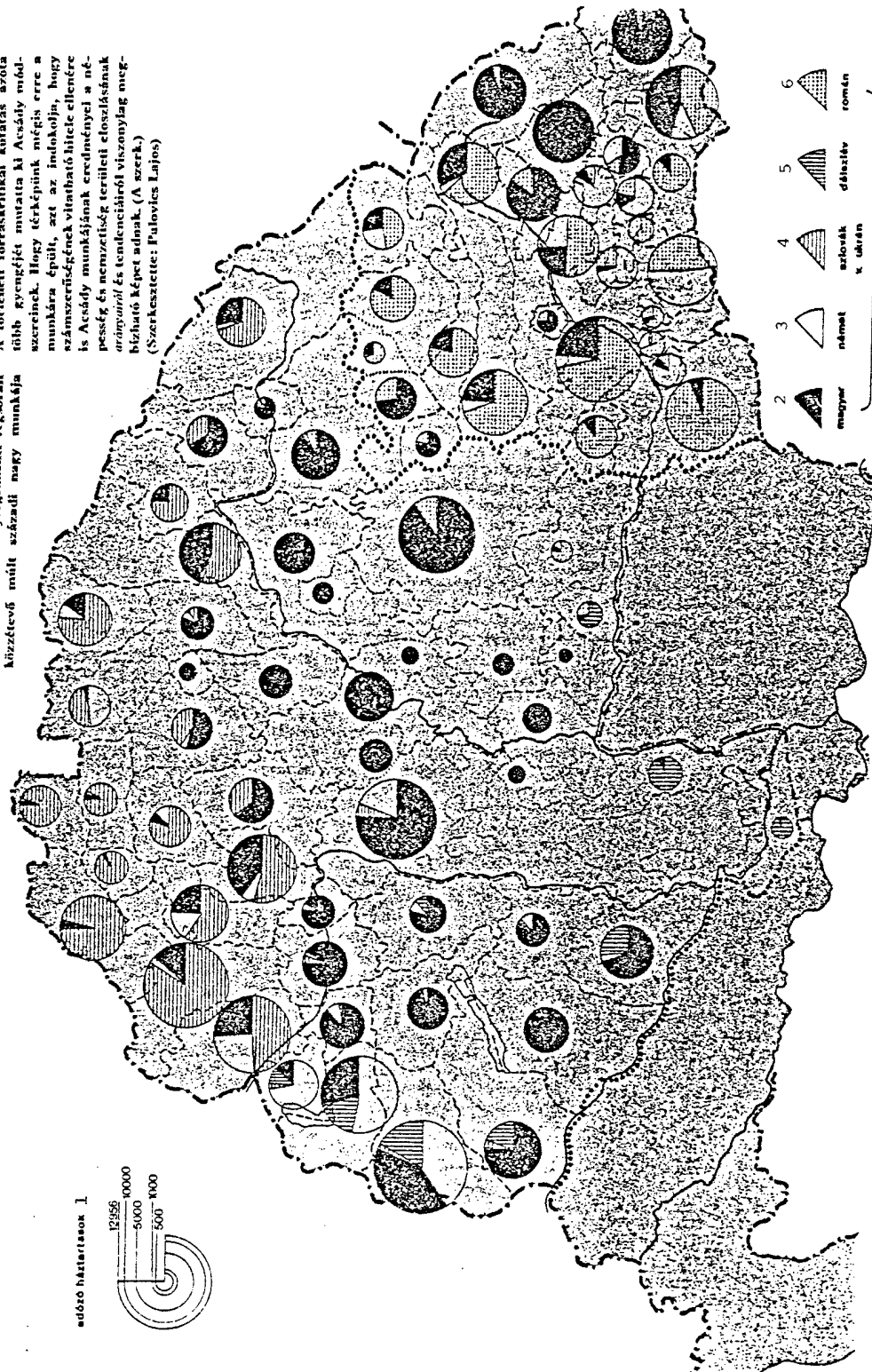
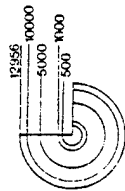
Key:

- |                    |                                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Germans         | 12. Slovaks                    |
| 2. French, Spanish | 13. Magyars                    |
| 3. Italians        | 14. Ukrainians                 |
| 4. Germans         | 15. Rumanians                  |
| 5. Croatians       | 16. Magyars                    |
| 6. Magyars         | 17. Magyars                    |
| 7. Magyars         | 18. Rumanians                  |
| 8. Serbs           | 19. Rumanians                  |
| 9. Slovaks         | 20. Rumanians                  |
| 10. Magyars        | 21. Greeks, Armenians, Gypsies |
| 11. Serbs          |                                |

Az itt közölt térkép Aczárdy Ignácnak az 1745. és 1720. évben végrehajtott országos adóösszeírás helységekénti vég sorait közzétevő múlt századi nagy munkája

(Magyarország népeisége a Pragmatica Sanctio korában. Bp. 1896) alapján készült. A történeti forráskritikai kutatás azóta több gyengéjét mutatta ki Aczárdy mód- szerének. Hogy térképünk mégis erre a munkára épült, azt az indokolja, hogy számszerűségeket vitatható hitele ellenére is Aczárdy munkájának eredményei a né- pesség és nemzetiség területi eloszlásának alapjául és tendenciáiról viszonylag meg- bízható képet adnak. (A szerk.)  
(Szerkesztette: Fülöp Lajos)

adó háztartások 1



The map presented here conveys the conclusions of a national tax assessment by community carried out in 1715 and 1720, and was prepared on the basis of Ignac Acsady's great work of the last century ("The Population of Hungary in the Age of the Pragmatica Sanctio", Budapest 1896). Since then, critical research of historical source materials has uncovered several flaws in Acsady's methods. That our map is nevertheless based on this work is justified by the fact that despite the debatable validity of his numerical values, the results of Acsady's work on the /ratios/ [italics] and trends of the territorial population and nationality distributions provide a relatively reliable picture (the Editors).

(Prepared by: Lajos Palovics)

Key:

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Taxpaying Households | 4. Slovak or Ukrainian |
| 2. Magyar               | 5. Southern Slav       |
| 3. German               | 6. Rumanian            |

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW SED CONCERN WITH LEGAL VIOLATIONS

FRG Critique

Hamburg DIE WELT in German 24 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Hans-R Karuth, Berlin correspondent: "SED Shows Apprehension About Deficient Sense of Order"]

[Text] GDR authorities are worried not only about rowdies, punks, drunkenness, fights, riots in soccer stadiums and young people who are in no way politically sufficiently "stable": law and order evidently don't get the necessary respect from the middle-aged group either. The East Berlin Parliament is now dealing with "illegally" built cottages, noise that disturbs the peace, dirty streets and city squares, and other violations of public order.

Members of the Committee on Law and Constitution are currently investigating the "effectiveness" of the law against violations of public order in East Berlin's problem sector "Prenzlauer Berg" and in the province. The results of the investigation were just published in a three-page report in NEUE JUSTIZ [New Justice]--the magazine for "socialist law and legality."

Both law and legality, are obviously in trouble in spite of the total of 231 penalty provisions covering violations of public order that are in effect in the GDR. The extent of the trouble is made clear by the fact that the critical final report of the two committees cites a whole series of facts which do not speak well for the "social legal system." The following examples are mentioned as points of special concern:

--Social groups in residential areas have demanded "that the authorities in charge become more active in preventing and combatting certain violations of public order." These violations include excessive noise that disturbs the peace, "the violation of the residents' duty to keep public streets, walkways and squares clean" as well as the sale of alcohol to young people.

--Without any regard for building regulations more and more GDR citizens living in apartments are constructing their own weekend cottages. "Instead of utility sheds in the garden solid cottages are now constructed that can be used as second residents," the report criticizes.

Often these builders do not respect the necessary space between themselves and their neighbors; garages, sheds, stables, roofs over patios and porches are constructed without authorization. The fault lies with "insufficient controls." But even substantial fines do not seem to deter the GDR builders. The report says that frequently "the violators add these fines to the construction costs ahead of time."

--The authors report some of the unusual steps people take in order to be able to live in a decent apartment in the GDR where such apartments are very scarce. It happens frequently that people will rent from older citizens on a fictitious basis "in order to be able to move into the apartment after the older people have died." But nobody seems to worry about practices of this kind.

This happens, the report continues, because "the initiatives and commitments of social power groups are not always utilized by state authorities for the enforcement of state regulations in this field." Effective efforts--for instance those made in the "Kreuzberg" and Prenzlauer Berg sectors of East Berlin are "insufficiently publicized and the social groups involved are insufficiently informed and directed."

As a possible and entirely effective disciplinary measure the report mentions the possibility, which has been available for a long time, to sentence "black sheep" to do community work for 6 days in their free time. The parliamentary experts suggest at the same time to "make known to the public" sentences of this kind in order to set an example for others.

Citing the slogan "Let's stop this sort of thing at the very beginning" the report makes clear that state authorities will not take lightly excessive noise that disturbs the peace or dog droppings left behind on the street. The conclusion of the report says verbatim: "The citizens must feel that even the slightest offense against the inviolability of personal freedom that is guaranteed in the constitution as well as against the duties stated in the constitution will not be tolerated. Therefore, violations of this kind have to be dealt with effectively by applying the law against violation of public order." Any proven violation must be "dealt with appropriately by state and society."

But it seems that for some time now people in the GDR have become less conscious of problems of this kind. Therefore the authors attack in unmistakable language at the end of their report indifference and increasing laissez-faire attitudes without, however, suggesting concrete countermeasures. "To sum up, our concern should be to improve our atmosphere of indifference toward law violations and to overcome their causes and supportive conditions."

#### People's Chamber Committee Report

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 37 No 8, Aug 83 pp 318-320

[Final Report of the Committee for Constitution and Law of the People's Chamber: "Effectiveness of Regulations for the Prevention and Control of Actions Contravening Public Order"]

[Text] Following the decision by the Committee for Constitution and Law of the GDR People's Chamber task forces began work in the cities of Magdeburg and Erfurt, in the Berlin Prenzlauer Berg sector, as well as in the counties of Aschersleben, Leipzig-Land and in Saalkreis County in order to supervise the effectiveness of the law against public order violations.

- 1 in the prevention and control of violations of building codes (especially in the construction and reconstruction of buildings by citizens) and
  - 2 in the prevention and control of violations in residential areas.
- 1 Experiences and Problems in the Application and Enforcement of the Law Against Public Order Violations

### 1.1 Principles

The GDR law against public order violations has proven to be an effective way to further strengthen socialist legality, to develop voluntary and deliberate discipline among the citizens, to protect socialist social order and the national economy, to guarantee order and safety as well as to prevent crimes and other law violations. In order to make the applications of this law more effective it is especially necessary to strengthen the cooperation of appropriate local state authorities with social groups, and to supply for the appropriate legal regulations in this field certain clear definitions, amendments and simplifications.

The effective coordination of the prevention and control of public order violations with the administrative functions of local state authorities is especially evident in the following cases:

- The application of the regulations of the law against public order violations increasingly contributes to support economic progress, to remove problems, and to further strengthen socialist communal living and thereby the citizens' socialist attitudes.
- Different forms of crowd control as well as personal visits to local and residential areas with the purpose of discovering and preventing law violations promote the voluntary and deliberate observation of city and community ordinances.
- At the meetings of local representatives analytic information on law violations and appropriate conclusions are presented. The evaluation of law observance is made more effective in conjunction with reports on the different fields of communal policies and with reports on the activities of local councils.
- To an increasing degree, evaluation policies of law violations have been developed in meetings of local councils, in consultations of standing commissions, in electoral district activities, in official discussions with experts of local councils and with mayors, legal and security conferences, residents' meetings, meetings of committees from residential areas of the National Front and their active members in charge of order and security, as well as in the press.

--In cases provided for by the law (pars 31, 32 OWG; pars 41, 42 KKO; pars 39, 40 SchKO) it has been proven effective that cases of proven law violations are turned over by those in charge of enforcing the laws on public order to the courts of our society.

--Equally effective have been collective consultations and decisions on law violations within the field of authority of local councils (pars 29, 30 OWG).

The results of the investigation make clear, however, that these methods must be applied in even stronger and more comprehensive ways by the authorities and must be enforced with even greater efficiency. Not all city and rural district councils have available a total overview of the public order violations committed in specific fields and of the penalty measures applied. Only specific experts in the councils often have this general overview. Analyses and experiences obtained by other authorities and by those in charge of enforcing penalties for violations of public order, over whom local councils have no authority, (German People's Police, State Forestry Department, and others) are utilized too little for the purpose of exchanging information in the administrative practices of local authorities.

Appropriate authorities can be supported by individual citizens and collectives, especially by voluntary auxiliaries of the German People's Police, by honorary deputies of State Building Control Commission, by members of the people's control commission of the workers' and farmers' inspection group, by members of local building commissions, by active members of the GDR National Front in charge of order and security in residential areas.

All investigations made clear the relation existing between the political-educational work of state authorities and the prevention and control of violations of public order and other law violations. More and more, justice is done to the basic political goals of the law against public order violations:

--support for the development of a voluntary and deliberate discipline on the part of the citizens, and guarantee of a high degree of order and security,

--prevention of crimes and confirmation of legality, as well as

--increased effectiveness of all state and social forces in the prevention and control of law violations.

The investigations confirm that the prevention and control of public order violations are considered an important means of developing and confirming legal security, social and state discipline, and of avoiding and also decreasing material losses in the national economy. The relation between preventive criminology and the fight against public order violations, as well as other law violations (violations of discipline, labor law violations, civil rights violations) was made clear.

Special emphasis should be placed on the positive cooperation of all authorities who are responsible for controlling public order violations.

Examples of positive cooperation by local representatives and their authorities with committees of the National Front, the German People's Police and other authorities are the agreement between the Erfurt City Council and the city committee of the National Front to establish an active committee for order and safety within the residential areas committees, as well as the support given to the Aschersleben City Council by the officer Candidate school "Wilhelm Pieck" of the Ministry of the Interior.

In Magdeburg there has been a proven cooperation between representatives, regional People's Police authorities and arbitration committees on the district electoral level. Preventive measures against the causes of public order violations and other law violations include regular personal visits [to problem areas]. These causes are then controlled by responsible actions on the part of appropriate authorities.

The application of the law against public order violations by officers in charge of German People's Police stations emphasizes the importance of good training in this field. In Magdeburg especially, section chiefs and their auxiliaries are mentioned for discovering public order violations in residential areas.

Social groups in residential areas have demanded that the appropriate authorities show even greater effectiveness in the prevention and control of violations against public order. This pertains to the causes of noise that disturbs the peace (par 4 OMVO), to violations against regulations that are the basis of city ordinances, especially violations of residents' duties to keep public streets, walkways and city squares clean (par 16 of the 3rd DVO to the LKG), as well as to violations of ordinances protecting children and young people, e.g. in regard to sale of alcohol to young people (pars 7, 14 KJSchVO).

Local councils are making increasing efforts to further qualify those in charge of enforcing penalties for public order violations. Reports by this personnel before public representatives (par 20 sec 2 OWG) are utilized for this [improvement in] qualification and for increasing the effectiveness of work in conjunction with the law against public order violations.

Training courses and consultation with personnel authorized to enforce the law against public order violations, with representatives of legal authorities and with workers and farmers inspection teams (Magdeburg) as well as annual weekend training courses based on a training program (Saalkreis County) are ways to achieve effective qualification.

## 1.2 Building Practices

In Saalkreis County, investigations focused exclusively on the prevention and control of public order violations in connection with construction and alteration of buildings by the population. The following was found out:

The realization of the program of building one's own home contributes to the improvement of working and living conditions of many citizens. The long-range

preparation of these construction projects by the citizens must be emphasized. In discussions with these citizens questions regarding the type of construction, procurement of materials, and financing are discussed, among others. Because representatives of credit institutions, of state building authorities, of building materials procurement offices, of farmers' trade associations participate in these discussions, many questions can be answered then and there.

At the same time, public order violations during home construction, leisure home construction as well as alterations and enlargements are pointed out. These violations consist primarily in the practice that constructions or alterations are made without approval by appropriate local councils (par 3, 10 of the VO on the responsibility of the councils of communities, city districts, cities and countries in the construction and alteration of buildings by the population--BauVO--of 22 March 1972 [GBI II No 26 p 293] in questions of private home regulations of 31 August 1978 [GBI I No 40 p 425] and of the regulations on state supervision of home construction of 30 July 1981 [GBI I No 26 p 313]. The following items are especially important in this regard:

- Roof structures and sub-basement constructions not contained in the project, likewise the additions of porches, garages, sheds and stables not contained in the project, and a disregard for the required space for home construction;
- Disregard for the size of leisure buildings (instead of garden utility sheds, cottages are constructed that can be used as solid, secondary residences), the construction of roofs over patios, the subsequent addition of bathrooms, utility sheds and garages for automobiles;
- Deviation from the project in regard to size during construction and reconstruction.

Favoring these practices are insufficient controls especially during the preparation phase of the construction projects, approval of projects that are too ambitious (deviation from state standards), projects that are prepared differently by unregistered buildings, the acceptance of building projects in spite of proven building code violations as well as insufficient utilization of opportunities within the contest "Beutify Our Cities and Communities--Cooperate!" in conjunction with the competition for recognition as "District of Exemplary Order and Safety."

Recognition deserves the efforts to react effectively to law violations and to utilize opportunities provided by law.

Of service to the citizens and, at the same time, to the effective prevention of law violations is the also very time-consuming activity of the honorary deputies of the State Building Commission who (80 percent engineers and 20 percent master builders) are working in all cities and communities of Saal-Kreis County, as well as the efforts of local building commissions. Each honorary deputy of the State Building Commission spends annually an average of 76 hours on project examinations, 28 hours on construction work and 16 hours on the completion of examination approvals.

More effective leadership is needed in the activation of social groups, especially members of local building commissions and their active members.

It was pointed out repeatedly that for law violations in the construction field even the upper limit of a threatened penalty often does not have the desired educational result, especially when the violator, when committing the law violation, adds the fine in advance to the building costs. Other measures have here proven to be effective, e.g. the practice that the state will take possession of living quarters of a building constructed without approval (par 13 WRLVO) or in especially serious cases the demolition of a building that is not suitable for living purposes whenever social interests demand that the original state of the structure be restored (pars 11 sec 1.5 sec 5 Building Regulations).

Members of the State Building Commission have also imposed special fines according to par 29 of the regulations on state building supervision of 30 July 1981 (GB1 I No 26 p 313) in order to enforce their directives. This practice has shown good results.

### 1.3 Housing Practices

Local councils have to enforce more effectively the law against public order violations toward citizens who occupy housing without authority, i.e. illegally, e.g. on the basis of a fictitious rental agreement where rooms are rented from older citizens and then occupied [by the renters] after their death (par 24 WRLVO). State authorities do not always utilize the initiatives and commitment of social groups for the enforcement of public order. On the other hand, effective efforts by councils (e.g. in the Berlin Prenzlauer Berg district) are not sufficiently publicized, and social groups are not sufficiently informed and directed.

More effective action by the leaders of housing collectives through sharing information with the housing policy department, immediate reaction by local councils and a more effective application of the law against public order violations have here proven to be effective.

### 1.4 Assignment To Community Work During Free Time.

According to par 6 sec 1 No 5 OWG a possible penalty for violations of public order is assignment to community work of up to 6 days during free time in cases of disturbances of socialist community living (par 4 sec 2 OWVO), as well as in cases of opposition to penalties imposed on citizens who are in danger of becoming criminally liable (pars 4 secs 3, 12 Regulations for the criminally liable).

This penalty measure has educational value wherever local councils have made with the firms or establishments in which community work is to be performed concrete agreements containing the necessary provisions such as the kind and method of work supervision, insurance, work protection, tools, utensils and information relations etc.

There are different opinions about doing community work during free time. Some local councils believe that community work is effective when it is done in the particular place of work of the offender so that his professional knowledge can be utilized. Other local councils organize community work within the establishments of the city administration. This means that the offenders do their work in the places where they have done the damage.

It was proposed that legal possibilities of publicly announcing the imposition of community work sentences should be created. Par 6 sec 1 No 6 OWG also provides as additional penalty for the official publication at offender's cost. This possibility has not been regulated yet by legal directives.

## 2 Suggestions For a Better Application and Precise Definition of the OWG and Other Legal Regulations

### 2.1 Publication of Valid Regulations for Penalties for Public Order Violations

The most recent official publication of the valid penalties for public order violations of 9 March 1978 (GB1 I No 10 p 130) provides a survey according to the status of 1 January 1978. Since then 71 additional penalty regulations have taken effect and 57 others have been abolished. A current summary of valid penalty regulations must therefore be published in the law publication (par 43 sec 3 OWG). At the present time, a survey of this kind according to the status of 1 January 1981 is available only in the text "Penal Code As Well As Related Laws and Regulations" (Berlin 1981).

Opinions were voiced that the authority to enforce public order regulations within the authority of local councils be given also to the heads of specific departments. At the present time, this is not possible according to par 7 sec 2 OWG which gives this authority only to chairmen, their deputies and full-time council members.

It was suggested that the deadline for processing complaints against penalties for public order violation be increased from the present 1 week (par 34 sec 1 sent 2 and sec 2 sent 1 OWG) to 2 weeks. In actual practice, keeping the 1-week deadline often causes considerable problems.

In par 34 OWG changes should also be made so that in exceptional cases where the decision on a complaint cannot be made, for objective reasons, within the legally required deadline an interim decision is given to the complainant with the reasons why the deadline was not met and with the probable date of final decision. This change would correspond with practical actions already taken in such cases in different places.

### 2.2 Suggestions On Other Legal Regulations

It is considered necessary that in cases of illegal occupation or transfer of occupied living quarters (par 24 WRLVO) the penalty range be increased to 1 000 mark. For these cases the possibility should also be provided for that vacating the living quarters in question be enforced by imposing another fine.



In many places complaints are raised that keeping dogs results in dirt on public streets, in parks and also results in danger for traffic and also in the creation of noise. When par 16 of the 3rd DVO for the LKG is rewritten, there should be a precise definition of the penalty regulations regarding the duties of residents (par 16 sec 1) and an amendment should be added in regard to keeping dogs, e.g. keeping dogs leashed in public places and the responsibility for cleaning up dirt left by dogs (par 16 sec 2 no 1).

### 3 Conclusions

3.1 In accordance with the goal of socialist law to contribute to the true socialist relations between people and to solve the economic tasks, as well as to protect the achievements of the working people of the GDR against all acts by the class enemy, the law against public order violations in the GDR must be incorporated more effectively into the activities of state leadership, and must be enacted in cooperation with the citizens.

The citizens must feel that even the smallest violation of the inviolability of the human person and his freedom, as guaranteed in the constitution, as well as any neglect of the duties spelled out in the constitution will not be tolerated. Therefore, law violations of this kind must be controlled efficiently by applying the law against public order violations.

3.2 The basic and constitutional regulations of the OWG as well as the currently (1 March 1983) valid 231 public order penalty measures have proven to be effective; however, on the basis of continual evaluation the need appropriate development and improvement. The suggestions regarding definitions or amendments of legal regulations made in this report should therefore be examined as soon as possible by appropriate authorities.

3.3 State and society must react appropriately to any proven public order violation. For this purpose, penalties for public order violations are to be applied, but also--and that has proven to be effective according to available experience--there must be discussions with law violators by representatives, collectives, local state officials, in arbitration committees and housing communities.

The general idea here is to strengthen the atmosphere of intolerance for law violations, and to overcome their causes and favoring conditions. For these reasons, the local press, factory and business publications and other media should be utilized more strongly in order to guide citizens with well-placed publications, to inform them about law violations and the reactions to them by state and society, and to mobilize the citizens so that proven causes and conditions of law violations can be overcome.

3.4 Appropriate authorities should utilize even more intensively the law against public order violations as an essential instrument of national leadership toward overcoming obstacles that appear to be law violations. The following distinctions must be made in more precise ways:

Reactions to law violations must correspond to their specific kind and gravity, to the conditions contributing to them, and to the personality of the violator.

According to these standards the permissible and necessary penalty for law violations must be imposed, or the decision must be made to dispense with procedures against public order violations because disciplinary, material or other kinds of responsible action is called upon and is more appropriate than the penalty expected for specific public order violations (par 22 sec 2 OWG). These standards will also determine the decisions of the personnel in charge of enforcing penalties for public order violations, whether or not to turn over a violation to a court of our society (pars 31, 32 OWG).

3.4 Proven violations of the law on public order should be taken up and investigated by local councils. People's representatives and their committees as well as social groups should be informed of the conclusions of these investigations. Part of this information consists of the reports given before local representatives by personnel in charge of enforcing penalties for public order violations.

After the conditions and causes of public order violations have been analyzed, local people's representatives and appropriate authorities should draw their conclusions in regard to improving official efficiency and utilizing social groups for the prevention of public order violations. This requires that the collective efforts of local councils are increased, and that the directing and controlling activities of superior councils and their specialized departments up to the Council of Ministers' level are improved.

Qualification of personnel in charge of enforcing penalties for public order violations and their assistants must be further improved and strengthened. The proposal is made to coordinate initiatives started in many places, and to publish a unified edition of useable training and work materials.

3.6 Attention must be paid to the relation between violations of public order and violations of labor laws, agricultural regulations and civil laws. If e.g. a violation of public order results in material damages, then, besides penalties for violation of public order, measures are also applicable that regulate responsibilities in regard to labor laws, agricultural regulations and civil laws. In these cases, the law against violation of public order focuses on the application of measures that have the greatest social effectiveness.

\*

The investigations by the Committee for Constitution and Law have made clear that the principle of art 90 sec 2 of the GDR constitution, according to which the control and prevention of felonies and other law violations is the concern of [the entire] socialist society, of its state and its citizens, is increasingly realized also in the enforcement of the law against public order violations. The appropriate authorities are taking their responsibilities in this field more and more seriously, and the majority of citizens observes public order regulations, and supports prevention and control of violations as well as the elimination of their causes and conditions. Appropriate social actions are supported by appropriate state authorities who effectively take care of their responsibilities.

HUNGARIANS GREET BULGARIANS ON NATIONAL DAY

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 9 Sep 83 p 4

[Text] To comrade Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic

To Comrade Grisa Filipov, president of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Sofia. In the name of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and of our workers, we extend our cordial, collegial greetings and our heartfelt best wishes to you, to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, to the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and to the peace-loving, fraternal people of Bulgaria on the 39th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution and liberation of your country.

Our people greatly value the results achieved by the people of Bulgaria, under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in making their land flourish. It is our strong conviction that your successes and results are contributing much to increase the strength of our socialist community in reinforcing international security, and protecting peace and socialism.

It is to our true satisfaction that the Hungarian-Bulgarian relationship, based on the theories of marxism-leninism and on the principles of proletarian internationalism, and corresponding to our common interests, are developing in a fruitful manner in every area of life. During the visit by the Bulgarian party and state delegation to Hungary this year, an outstanding event in our relationship, the joint conviction was also expressed that our multifaceted cooperation and, furthermore, our joint activities, carried out in the framework of the Warsaw Pact and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, serve well the deepening fraternal friendship between our nations, the interest of socialism and social development, and the cause of reserving peace.

On the occasion of your great national holiday, we send our heartfelt wishes to you and to the working people of fraternal Bulgaria for new achievements in building the advanced socialist society, for a flourishing country, and for increased material and intellectual prosperity.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidial Council of the Hungarian People's Republic

Gyorgy Lazar, president of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic

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On the occasion of Bulgaria's national holiday, Antal Apro, president of Parliament, sent a telegram-greeting to Sztanko Todorov, president of the National Assembly of the Bulgarian People's Republic. A telegram-greeting was sent to the Bulgarian partners by the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, the National Trade Union Council, the Central Committee of KISZ, the National Peace Council and the National Council of Hungarian Women.

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This day signifies an epochal change in Bulgaria. On 9 September 1944, a new chapter could begin in one of the most backward nation of Europe. The partisan units, led by the communists, marched into Sofia 39 years ago, they guided their country out of the war and started to liquidate the feudalism-capitalist system of exploitation. The government of the Patriotic Battle Front set national advancement as its goal.

During the nearly four decades since, not without difficulties and struggles, the goals could be reached although they not only had to develop an agricultural country into an industrial-agrarian one, but social consciousness and the cultural level also required thorough changes. Even some roadblocks, which appeared insurmountable at first, were successfully and permanently overcome under the leadership of the Communist Party, for instance, illiteracy. A high-order socialist culture has since become the common treasure of every citizen.

Agriculture-- the nearly exclusive production branch before the liberation-- still plays a large role in the life of the country since nearly a quarter of the national income and nearly a third of the exports is derived from it. The highly specialized plant production and animal husbandry, at the moment, is faced with problems arising from changes in quality, a conversion to the intensive phase and the harsh climatic conditions. The balancing role of industry has increased for precisely these reasons. This has already grown into the leading branch of the economy--in agreement with the decisions made by the Communist Party Congress--and will remain there. It is noteworthy that, simultaneously with the production results, the guidance system also adapted to the changing external and internal conditions: from 1979 on, there has been a gradual increase in enterprisa independence and responsibility within industry, and also in the role of household and small garden plots in agriculture.

The successes of the Bulgarian national economy are inseparable from the expansion of the development of socialist states and the relations within this community. During the initial steps, the Soviet Union took on a significant helping role and during the period since, CEMA became the most important factor in the foreign trade of the Balkan country.

Our bilateral relationships are extraordinarily varied. One example: Hungarian professionals are eagerly studying the experiences of economic guidance there. Proof of the mutual attention is the early summer visit by a Bulgarian party and state delegation led by Todor Zhivkov: the two countries are characterized by a complete identity of views in judging socialist building and the international situation. The fundamental goals of our country and Bulgaria are related.

On this anniversary, we wish this fraternal people and their leaders further success in solving their tasks in socialist development and an uninterrupted increase in their esteem in the community of the world's peoples.

#### Commemoration in Sofia

The MTI reports from Sofia: The 39th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution was commemorated at a festive assembly Thursday, in Sofia. The celebration in the National Theater was attended by leaders of the party, the state, social and mass organizations, and representatives of Sofia's workers, led by Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the Bulgarian State Council.

Todor Bozhirov, member of the Political Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, first vice president of the Council of Ministers, in the part of his commemorative speech dealing with international policy, called the fruitful conclusion of the Madrid Conference an important contribution to peace policy, in the interest of a decrease in tensions and stronger cooperation. They recalled that, because of the erroneous policy of the United States, the international situation underwent an extreme increase in tension.

He mentioned the necessity of applying consequently the new Bulgarian economic views and mechanisms, and the requirement of a fuller exploitation of commodity and monetary conditions. At present, improving the quality of products and increasing the effectiveness of productivity are in the center of attention. This will also be the main topic at the National Party Congress to be held in March 1984--stressed the speaker of the festive assembly.

2473

CSO: 2500/453

MINISTRY REORGANIZED ; NEW OFFICE CREATED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Sep 83 p 5

[Article by Krzysztof Sobczak]

[Text] PRL Sejm at its session of 28 Jul of this year has voted to establish the office of the minister of Administration and Territorial Management and the Central Office of Environmental Protection and Water Resources Management. With this enactment the present Ministry of Administration, Territorial Management and Environmental Protection ceased to exist.

For a comment on this decision a PAP reporter has asked Major General Wlodzimierz Oliwa. Here are some of his statements:

The principal element of this reorganization is to separate problems dealing with the protection of the environment from the present ministry. The tasks of interdepartmental coordinating functions were until now carried out by the Ministry of Administration, territorial Management and Environmental Protection. At the same time this same ministry was carrying out activities which were negatively affecting this area, for instance, by releasing raw sewage into rivers. Simultaneously the tasks of managing water resources were dealt with by several ministries, such as agriculture, maritime management, and communications.

This state of affairs was not achieving expected results and was the object of frequent criticism. What was needed was to consolidate these problems. Protection of the environment is too important a matter to be just an added responsibility of some other department.

The new solution has focused on the concrete set of related fields of activity, such as: supervision of everyday activities of territorial units of state administration; architecture and urban development; territorial planning and supervision of construction; communal and housing management; farm land management; and geodesy and cartography. These fields are of particular importance since it is in these fields that the everyday problems of the public emerge.

That is why it is essential that the apparatus which deals with these matters be highly functional. The task of the [new] Ministry of Administration and Territorial Management is to direct complex activities in those fields.

Our objective is to increase the functionality of our ministry and the effectiveness of its activities and to strengthen control. This is to be accomplished, among other measures, by the recently created Central Territorial Inspection Office and by raising the authority of state administration while preserving its full service function.

Changes now being introduced into the structure of our ministry are designed to increase functionality of our operations. For instance, a Department of Development of Single-Family Dwellings is being organized; this is a service department which will furnish aid to the building undertakings of individuals; it will create conceptual models in this area and propose projects; it will prepare building sites. Also being organized is a task force for design engineering firms as well as a department of building inspections. Up until now building inspection was assigned to the Ministry of Construction which was not the best of solutions.

We are working on a proposed law on farm lands and expropriations; also on a proposal for a new occupancy law, as well as on the decree for the Council of Ministers dealing with the involvement of building firms in housing construction.

This same goal of improving functionality is a guiding light for the efforts aimed at constructing, together with the scientists, of models of administrative offices: for gmina, for city-gmina, for city, and two provincial models (for small and large provinces). These models will be ready by the end of November. Next we will hold consultations throughout the country and will test these models in selected units. If they work out in practical implementation then this will be the direction which the reform of the entire administration will take.

12207

CSO: 2600/1283

# PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

## Party on Problems, Difficulties at Nowa Huta

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 24 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Reported by (mich): "Conference at Lenin Steelworks with Jozef Gajewicz Attending; We Must Solve Problems and Difficulties by Joint Efforts"]

[Text] The Lenin Steelworks is not only an important metallurgical works which supplies Polish industry with necessary raw materials and semi-finished products, it is also, which should not be forgotten, a huge workplace employing thousands of skilled workers, often working under very difficult conditions and coping with very specific problems and difficulties. These matters are aggravated by the overall socioeconomic situation of our state: the continual shortages of producer goods, the limited housing construction, and the decline in the value of money. All of this creates problems which, here, at the Lenin Steelworks, are of great magnitude.

The fact that the government appreciates the magnitude of these problems was reflected in the agreements entered into earlier --25 September 1980--between the government commission and the workers' commissions which were forming at that time, agreements which embodied the justified demands of the steelworks' employees. We are not repudiating these agreements, said Kazimierz Miniur, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee, during yesterday's conference of the steelworks' party organization. In November of last year, they formed the basis for the development of the management's activities program on social-welfare matters. The first implementation period is now ending.

During the conference, which was attended by the first secretary of the PZPR Coordinating Committee, Jozef Gajewicz; the managing director of the Lenin Steelworks, Eugeniusz Pustowska; and the secretaries of the PZPR primary party organizations and plant committees, Tadeusz Staniec, assistant director of employee relations, spoke first. He cited the actions being taken to improve working conditions and to better organize employee's vacation conditions.

--At present, the main task of the social-welfare cells working in behalf of employee needs is to supply them with in-plant meals and food. This is done through



cafeterias, snack-bars and kiosks. Over 24,000 meals and 19,000 snacks are served each day, in which approximately 3 tons of meat are used. For the most part, the food is obtained from the steelworks' own farm, which covers an area of 100 hectares and which has its own hog and poultry pens supplying about 180 tons of meat annually. Despite this year's hot summer, there was no great problem in supplying the workforce with various beverages. Twenty-five thousand liters a day are consumed. At this time, thought is being given to deliveries of vegetables, fruits and potatoes.

--One of the most important problems which remains to be solved at the Lenin Steelworks is housing construction. It is estimated that about 6,000 employees are waiting for their own apartment. Part of these needs will be met by the Housing Cooperative which was formed in 1980. It will build 2,700 apartments in Mistrzejowice-Zachod. The Youth Housing Cooperative should play a certain part in easing problems. In addition, the steelworks recently obtained land for construction of four buildings at Instytut Street and bought one from the Provincial Housing Cooperative. But all of this is just a drop in the ocean of needs, hence the management of the steelworks requested the Minister of Metallurgy and Machine Industry to have the allocation of housing take place on the same principles as in previous years, that is, from the Warsaw Housing Cooperative pool.

--In view of the current socioeconomic situation, families of lowest-income workers and single parents are being given special care. This year, 9.5 million zlotys was allocated for this purpose. Assistance is also given to annuitants and pensioners. A special center was even formed which is to concern itself with coordination of care over these people, by issuing assistance payments, purchasing gift parcels, medicines for the sick, etc.

Proper organization of vacations is also of enormous importance. This year, 22,500 people took vacations. The majority of the workforce goes to the five vacation rest-homes [owned and operated by the steelworks]. These are in attractive locations, of high standard, and are highly regarded by the steelworkers. Exchanges of vacation places are always being made with other enterprises, both here and abroad.

There are also those who spend their vacations on their own garden plots. At present, the steelworks has 65 hectares of land, managed by 11 Employees' Garden Plots (1,700 plots). Very soon this number will increase by 450 in two gardens in Brodla-Laziska and Skala Kmita.

--The employment problem in the steelworks continues to be critical. Just during the first six months of this year 2,672 employees left and 1,172 came on. The higher bonuses and base pay recently put into effect should be an incentive to new hiring. During six months, emoluments rose, in comparison with the same period last year, by 3,900 zlotys.

During the discussion attention was called to the very small supplements to family vacations, and to the problem, not solved thus far, of so-called "additional housing" [a plan whereby young workers build an apartment building in addition to those built by the steelworks], which was supposed to be a key to the solution of housing construction for young steelworks' employees.

But most of the talk centered around work discipline. Why, if there are so many problems with employment is no interest shown in the young people who are not working anywhere.

Jozef Gajewicz said that there was too little economic thought in this discussion, just as it was lacking in the report itself. The management of the steelworks must not only give some thought on how it can bring people into the steelworks, it must also determine why they are leaving it. People must be convinced that work has meaning, and some of them will surely stay with you.

The first secretary of the PZPR Coordinating Committee also promised that very soon the Krakow Committee and institutions called upon to do this will begin the task of combating all negative social phenomena on a wide scale.

#### Main Socioeconomic Problems in Radom Province

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] On the 27th of this month a conference was held in the Office of the Council of Ministers, attended by representatives of several ministries and the Council of Ministers Planning Commission. It was devoted to an assessment of the execution of the government's 1981 decision pertaining to the solving of the main socioeconomic problems in Radom Province. Prof Zygmunt Rybicki, undersecretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers, was chairman.

Col Aloyzy Wojciechowski, governor of Radom, took part in the deliberations and presented information on the implementation of specific provisions of the above-mentioned decision. Information was also presented on proposals flowing from visits to building sites in Radom Province and on materials supplied by the Council of Ministers Planning Commission and the Ministry of Administration and Local Economy.

These materials show that during 1981-1982 over 9 billion zlotys was spent for the needs of Radom Province specified in the Government Presidium's decision of June 1981. This is 32.3 percent of all of the outlays anticipated for this five-year plan--in comparable prices, of course. In the first six months of this year, construction-assembly jobs had advanced to over 47 percent of the plan for the year. The best progress was made in municipal buildings, where in the first six months 87.9 percent of the total year's tasks had been executed.

An analysis of work progress shows that this year investment plans will not only be implemented, but will be executed ahead of schedule. Because of this, investment outlays will be about 350 million zlotys larger than had been expected. At the same time, it is estimated that financial outlays expended during 1981-1982 and assigned to this province for 1983-1985, together with the sums anticipated for execution of housing construction, are adequate and will make it possible to solve those socioeconomic problems in Radom Province that were indicated in the Government Presidium's decision.

Also, the amount of funds for capital repairs and for support of social actions meets the needs of the province. During 1981-1983, almost 3.2 billion zlotys will be allocated for repairs, which is approximately 84 percent of planned expenditures (in comparable prices), anticipated for the entire five-year plan. The funds allocated for support of social actions are distributed proportionally among the particular years, and the size of these funds fulfills the assumptions of the provisions of the decision.

During the conference it was stated that the funds of the National Health Protection Fund accumulated in Radom Province are being used entirely for the construction of rural health centers. In the past two years, 266 million zlotys was expended for this purpose and this year it is envisaged that 107 million zlotys will be spent.

In order to efficiently implement the government's decision regarding the development of Radom Province, many measures were taken to increase the remodelling capacity of construction enterprises in this area. For example, two general construction enterprises and two agricultural construction enterprises appeared in the local plans as part of the reorganization of general construction, the Construction-Installation Enterprise and the "Miastoprojekt" [city-design] Design-Research Office. An Engineering Works Enterprise and a Water-Sewage Enterprise were organized. The performance potential of the agricultural construction enterprises since the beginning of last year is being used to a large degree for the needs of housing construction and general construction. Production of prefabricated elements has been begun in the constructions firms taken over by the province. A Construction Department has been established in the Provincial Office whose task it is to coordinate and improve the efficiency of the investment tasks being executed by the enterprises that were formed or taken over.

It was also emphasized during the conference that the execution potential thus far appears to be insufficient in relation to requirements. This pertains particularly to the facilities which are of priority importance to the province, such as a provincial hospital, sewage treatment plant, and an expansion of heat sources. These facilities must be built by enterprises outside the province.

The Radom governor entered into an agreement with the main director of the Eastern District Power Plants on establishing the principles of implementing and financing the first stage of the construction of an electric power-and-heat generating plant. The agreement provides that a 120 giga-calorie boiler will go into operation during the 1987-1988 season, and a similar one will be started up the year after that.

In summarizing the proposals from the conference it was stated that the execution of the Government Presidium's decision of 20 June 1981 pertaining to the solving of Radom Province's socioeconomic problems is proceeding properly. The provisions of this decision were expanded and increased at the meeting of the representatives of the ministries and the authorities of Radom Province on the 25th of February of this year. Added to the investment program was construction of a water intake in Slawno, for which 24 million zlotys was expended in the first six months of this year. It is anticipated that outlays for this purpose during the current year will be exceeded. During the first six months of this year, 57.4 million zlotys was expended for construction of a city sewage-treatment plant in Radom. It is expected that by the end of this year, the reconstruction here will amount to 100 million zlotys. Construction

of the "Poludnie" [South] heating plant in Radom is proceeding; in the first six months 41 million zlotys was allocated for this purpose, and further utilization of outlays will depend on deliveries of designs.

The Minister of Construction and Construction Materials Industry guaranteed deliveries of centrally distributed materials in amounts sufficient to accomplish the tasks covered in the plan.

During the conference, the Radom governor reported that he intends to inform society about the results of the implementation of the government's decision, and the status of the investment tasks.

#### Kielce Plenum on Economic Problems

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 26 Aug 83 pp 1, 3, 8

[Report on the PZPR Provincial Committee (KW) Plenum in Kielce with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Central Committee secretary and candidate member of the Politburo, in attendance]

[Text] Economic problems were the subject of the PZPR KW plenary meeting held in Kielce. The deliberations were attended by representatives of the workforces and party-administration managements of plants and enterprises in Kielce Province, members of the KW Socioeconomic Commission, and the Provincial Group for Economic Reform Affairs.

Representatives of the Polish Economic Society, Society of Polish Accountants, Kielce colleges and institutions, and economic organizations on the provincial level, were present. Representatives of the managements of the administration authorities of the region, fraternal political parties, youth organizations, the Provincial People's Council (WRN), secretaries of local echelons, managers of regional party work centers and KW sections came.

Also in attendance were the candidate member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak; assistant managers of Central Committee (KC) departments: Cadre, Jerzy Wojcik, and Economy, Henryk Pucilowski; deputy ministers: Domestic Trade and Services, Andrzej Bors, Metallurgy and Machine Industry, Ryszard Bryk; and representatives of other ministries of the national economy.

In opening the deliberations, KC member, first secretary of the PZPR KW, Maciej Lubczynski stated that the echelon is undertaking a discussion on the province's economic problems for the fourth time already. This ensues from the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, in which it is written that it is the duty of the party to society to apply reforms and stimulate actions aimed at improving management efficiency. Insofar as the economy is concerned, said the first secretary, the political struggle did not begin today, thus the party should remember everything that is happening and is being done here.

The PZPR KW Executive Board report, assessing the results of economic reform and the implementation of economical management programs in the province, was delivered

by the KW secretary, Zdzislaw Kowalski. (A discussion of this report is published below.)

Eight comrades took part in the plenary discussion (summaries of the individual utterances also appear below).

In view of the diversity of the subjects, part of the deliberations were conducted in problems groups. After the discussions in the groups were ended, a report on the proceedings and the most important conclusions drawn was presented by the chairman of the individual groups (reports from the group meetings are published below).

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, spoke (a discussion of his speech appears below).

The PZPR Provincial Committee passed a resolution defining the most important tasks for party echelons and organizations in applying economic reform.

The members of the PZPR Provincial Committee familiarized themselves with information on the implementation of motions made during the plenary deliberations on 26 and 28 March of this year.

The past period, Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the PZPR KW, said at the close of the deliberations, has confirmed that reform is making a permanent place for itself in our economy and in our consciousness. More and more people are becoming convinced as to the rightness of its assumptions and goals. There is still a great deal of emotion and impatience, but if these feelings appear and are supported by action, they have a positive influence on the process of reforming plants and enterprises.

The meeting was adjourned with the singing of the "Internationale".

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During a recess in the plenary deliberations, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, accompanied by M. Lubczynski, KW first secretary, and WRN chairman R. Zbroga, became acquainted with the progress of work on the construction site of the Polish State Railways (PKS) station in Kielce.

Discussion of the PZPR KW Executive Board Report, Delivered by KW Secretary Zdzislaw Kowalski

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, in presenting the party and society with a program for overcoming the crisis, stated that attainment of the goals specified in the resolution will be largely dependent on economic results. In undertaking the work of reform, its goal was deemed to be improvement in economic efficiency, and thereby, improvement in the living conditions of the entire society. Aware of this, in the Provincial Committee resolutions in 1981 on self-government, and in 1982 on application of economic reform, we outlined tasks for all elements of the provincial party organization.

Together with the self-dependence which reform has brought, the enterprises have obtained the right to self-government. In over 90 percent of the enterprises in Kielce Province self-governments are already functioning, and the composition of the elected workers' councils guarantees that they will observe the requirements of the law.

We favorably assess the participation of workers' councils in work on the plants' socioeconomic plans and economical-management programs. At the same time we are seeing examples where the workers' councils are going over to the position of the trade unions, above all, in passing resolutions of a social character.

Taking advantage of the principle of self-dependence, the enterprises for the first time last year began the difficult process of preparing their own economic plans. The initial stage of the work in our province characterized the measures the plants were taking to ensure their access to raw materials, electrical energy, gas, fuels and foreign-exchange for purchases from import. Now, in the second year, the actions of reform are characterized by a considerable improvement in the quality of the planning work.

What does the implementation of these plans look like?

In industry we observe the correct tendency of a slow decline in prime costs of production, which, in the first six months of this year amounted to 92.2 percent (measured by share in value of production), as compared with 95.7 percent in 1982. The growth rate of prime costs is lower than the growth rate of production.

In most industrial plants the growth of labor productivity remains at a level approximate to that of the envisaged growth rate of sold production (better than nationally). However, growth of labor productivity is occurring at an extremely high cost for labor.

The changes in the system of wages initiated in 1982, in the case of construction enabled the system of emoluments in the plants to be modified. Some of the regulations in effect thus far make it difficult for the enterprises to introduce stable incentives. In a great many cases the wage for a specific job is only 50 percent of the general emolument. There is universal anticipation that changes in the system of emoluments will be made and that they will be made in public consultation with the trade unions.

During recent years in many plants a systematic decline in employment is occurring, particularly in workers' positions. In the first half of this year, the share of workers involved directly in production, among the total number employed in Kielce Province industry, declined 3 percent, while the number of administrative-office workers grew 2.5 percent in relation to the same period last year. There are as many people to do the work as there will be. Therefore, solutions to the problem of employment must be sought in technical progress and in improvement of work organization.

There has been a large boom in production in small-scale manufacturing. But the departure from services in support of the development of coproduction with large industrial plants is not a favorable occurrence.

The problems of housing construction were the subject of the joint deliberations of the PZPR KW and the SD [Democratic Party] WK [Provincial Committee] in September of last year. Implementation of the resolutions passed at that time is proceeding variously. Despite the fact that basic production in the construction-assembly enterprises in 1982 dropped 10.1 percent in comparison with last year, all of them showed a profit. The fact that a 27.2 percent production growth was achieved in the first half of this year, in relation to the same period last year, is optimistic. However, construction still continues to be characterized by low work discipline, excessive consumption and waste of materials, and insufficient development of production of building materials from local raw materials. Costs of corrective work are high, and the defect-elimination time is long. Development of single-family housing construction demands greater interest than has been shown thus far on the part of the state administration, workplaces, and housing cooperatives. The executive board appeals to party organizations and housing-cooperative self-governments to analyze and control construction costs for the purpose of decreasing them--to make that an important part of their work.

The decline of economic production caused a reduction in demand for transport. Nevertheless, some positive changes occurred in transport as regards the size and structure of employment and, with certain reservations, the general economic principles defining the relationship between growth of wages, labor productivity and employment were maintained.

The application of economic reform in state and cooperative farms is, on the whole, assessed favorably. The interest of the workforces in work results has increased, discipline has improved, and there has been more concern for the assets entrusted to the farms. The large majority of the State Farms (PGR) are now achieving good economic results. The State (Agricultural) Machine Stations (POM) have also improved their activities. The number of Agricultural Circle's Cooperatives operating at a loss has dropped from 62 before the introduction of reform to 27 at the end of June of this year. Unfortunately, this has not been accompanied by a growth in labor productivity commensurate with the growth in wages.

The money-credit policies of the Polish National Bank (NBP) helped to support the goals of the National Socioeconomic Plan during the period under assessment. After the new rules were introduced, 16 enterprises in the province had their credit rating threatened. The principle of credit availability and the ability to use these credits exclusively by enterprises which have a good current and future credit rating is being consistently enforced and implemented.

The plant economical-management programs of May of this year should improve management efficiency. They comply with the main goal outlined in the governments economy program. The plants which have made progress in implementing these programs include the M. Nowotki Steelworks in Ostrowiec, "Nowiny" ZCW [expansion unknown], the Construction Works in Skarzysko-Kamienna, and the Skarzysko-Kamienna Footwear Plants. But in some enterprises the management cadres, the self-governments and the party organizations are not very active in applying economy measures.

We often ask ourselves: What have we achieved in applying economic reform? In evaluating the implementation of the Provincial Committee's resolution on this subject in March 1982, it must be stated that its political-organizational assumptions

have been fully realized. We have achieved, among the people in the region, a climate for support for the functioning of the enterprises under the new conditions. We have also efficiently and effectively utilized those elements of martial law which were conducive to the stabilization of the functioning of the economy and the correct application of reform.

The result of these activities, despite the sanctions applied by the West, has been a halt to the declining tendencies in the province's industry and construction, and the attainment, since August 1982, of a higher growth rate of sales of industry-produced goods. In the first six months of this year, these sales were 10.7 percent higher in relation to the same period a year ago (8.2 percent nationally). Kielce plants involved in anti-import and export production are achieving good results.

Market normalization is proceeding regularly, although slowly. First half-year results, however, do not indicate that we are fully satisfied with the work of trade. Producer goods are in shorter supply in our province than in others. Trade organizations and their staffs are not showing sufficient effort in obtaining goods outside the province.

Based on past experience we can state that further results from the application of economic reform will depend on three main factors: the level of cadre, the improvement of reform mechanisms, control over socioeconomic crisis phenomena. While evaluating the competence and self-dependence of the plant managements' favorably, we consider it to be important to further popularize the new management principles among the management cadre, middle-level supervision, and the party, self-government and union aktiv.

Full implementation of economic reform demands the joint participation in this process of all generations employed in the economy. Reform should be the vocational touchstone for the young generation, a field for the initiative and inventiveness of the youth organizations. The tasks in this regard as set forth by the Provincial Committee during the deliberations on the subject of the educational role of the work place take on increasing importance.

#### Plenary Discussion

Karol Mokijewski, candidate member of the Central Committee and PZPR Factory Committee first secretary at POLMO-SHL [expansion unknown]:

Both the plant management and workforce are interested in the problems of economic reform. Its application was begun in 1981. Unfortunately, since the beginning of 1982 we are feeling some restrictions as a result of the introduction of operational programs and materials distribution programs. Also, we began that year with very low wages, and therefore charge allocations to the Vocational Activation Fund (FAZ) hit us badly. Since almost 700 highly qualified workers retired, the factory is having problems with filling its workforce. We are solving them on an emergency basis by extending the workweek and by extending the notice period on resignations. The problem of availability of materials continues, which makes it difficult to produce washing machines on a regular schedule. Despite these difficulties, the application of reform principles in the factory continues. The 13.7 percent growth in production attests to the correctness of the solutions accepted and the courses of action.



Konstanty Gulinski, manager of the Provincial Domestic Trade Enterprises (WPHW):

Society demands of us that we eliminate inflation by saturating the market. Meanwhile the rate of application of economic reform in trade depends on how it is applied in the industrial plants. When we reply as to the effects of reform in plants producing for the market, we are also replying on how reform is proceeding in trade. The market shows best of all that production has not grown as much as is necessary. That is why the comrades from industry should themselves answer as to how much more goods they are producing, because the statistical indexes on production growth are still not very good. Also, trade is not able to verify the calculation of prices, therefore a reply must also be made as to how much of the economic effect of the enterprises depends on market production, and how much on other factors.

In November of last year we said at the KW plenum that industry's potential in the province has not been exploited. Have these reserves been noticed for market production? Today the whole struggle should be over the utilization of unused capacity for production for the needs of the market. The self-government organizations and the aktiv of the enterprises should concern themselves with this, because the market, in large measure, determines the success or failure of economic reform.

Zbigniew Warwas, PZPR KW first secretary at the Construction Works in Skarzysko-Kamienna:

During the application of economic reform in our enterprise we called particular attention to improvement in technical-organizational activity, employment efficiency, economical use of materials, correct calculation of prices on construction jobs, and motivational incentives. The result of these endeavors was the full execution of material and financial plans last year and the first half of this year. In eight months we have completed more dwellings and implementation of other investments is proceeding well.

Our problem was to utilize the production capability of our house factory, which at one time worked three shifts and now is working only one. As of September of this year we want to start up another shift. We have not yet worked out a proper system of construction accountability. That is why beginning with the fourth quarter of this year we will institute a new form of accounting, which will be based on allocating tasks and funds in accordance with the assortment of jobs. This is important if reform is to be fully applied in construction. Unfortunately, thus far the assumptions of this important measure have not yet reached every job position, to the journeyman and the laborer, and after all, the success of reform depends in large measure on them.

Wlodzimierz Wolczyk, head of the Agricultural Production Cooperative (RSP) in Pinczow:

There is only one way by which to achieve a high level of Polish agriculture and that is through good, wise and efficient work. In my estimation, not everyone yet has become part of reform. The price madness, which has not escaped agriculture, is running riot. The prices of basic farm articles have risen several--several dozen percent, while the means for production now cost several times more. The

farmer has not gained much but the plants are drawing huge sums from various profit margins. In order to protect themselves against inflation, the farmers had to increase the rate and output of their work very greatly. It would be well if everyone would do this--not just the rural dwellers.

It is essential that there be an explanation as to what the equality between individual farms and cooperative and state farms really means. A number of doubts arise here in connection with the restriction on the right of the cooperative to establish prices on its products. Why, for example, can't we bring pickles to the market at a price of 30 zlotys per kilogram, while everyone is selling them at 60 zlotys? It is essential that some decisions be made and the regulations be defined, so as to adapt the functioning of the cooperatives to the requirements of reform.

Tadeusz Nowacki, Branch Manager of the Provincial Food Economy Bank:

Application of reform demands consistency. That is why the bank will be consistent in granting credits and only those will receive them who guarantee profitability. In 1983 we reduced crediting by over 400 million zlotys, and still some units are managing well and making an income. We are exerting influence on them to assign part of the income to a stabilization fund, which will allow for development.

However I have some comments. The first and most important one is that those sectors of production that are bringing in profits over and above the plan not be subsidized. For example, the dairy industry. In Miechow, a profit of 12 million zlotys was planned and 30 million was achieved. It is the same with some Agricultural Circle's Cooperatives. These units should be subsidized, but, for example, according to hectare and not according to price of services. And one more thing. I believe that the entire amortization, and not just part of it, should remain in the plants, because otherwise they will not be able to cope with their investments.

Jozef Winiarski, chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) Provincial Board:

The elements and members of ZSMP are also involved in applying economic reform. The circles and board which are popularizing its principles among youth are preparing the young people to fulfill social functions in self-governments, trade unions, etc.

It is essential that cadre be regularly trained for the needs of reform. The ZSMP Provincial Board, in cooperation with the Polish Economic Society, has established an Economic Reform Institute for this purpose. Young economists will become familiar with the new principles of management and based on their own, practical knowledge will develop incentive systems, work organization projects, etc.

The defect in reform is lack of incentive for a work-efficiency movement. This is shown by the dwindling number of proposals submitted at the Young Engineering Masters' Competition.

Zdzislaw Brzezinski, first secretary of the PZPR Gmina Committee (KG) in Bieliny:

The endless lines in front of the shops are disappearing, although slowly. This is the result of the application of reform. And after all, it was not so long ago--in 1981, lines of customers for meat and shoes began to form during the night already.

We still note a lack of thinking in terms of good management, which reform was supposed to produce. Yet the Rural Commune Cooperative (GS) workers in Bieliny have to travel all over Poland for various items and spare parts. And the costs grow. The poor quality of farm machines is also exasperating. In the Agricultural Circle's Cooperative (SKR) more time is spent in repairing them than using them in the fields. Excessive administration and elevated contractual prices are also disturbing.

Bogdan Curylo, manager of the State (Agricultural) Machines Station (POM) in Brzez (Wodzislav Gmina):

By statute, Pom's operations consist of services for agriculture. However, now, when reform is being applied, the POMs must look for additional sources of profit so as not to show a loss. The additional production is made even more important since enough funds were never invested in the machine centers--they always operated at a loss. Now they must be self-financing. Lately we have been criticized for not producing for agriculture, so last year we developed a prototype of a meadow-tilling roller. AGROMA [Agriculture equipment Business Enterprise] in Warsaw ordered 1,200 of them, and after a year they backed out of the agreement. How, under these circumstances, can POM produce for agriculture?

The Party's Tasks in the Application of Reform (Discussion of Wlodzimerz Mokrzyszczak's Speech)

The political struggle is now being fought on the economic field. In this situation, reform has a political dimension. Still, some pessimists speak with a tone of bitterness about unfulfilled hopes, about the fact that this is the second year of change and somehow the dreamed-about success is still not here. There were even those among us who believed in miracles, that with reform manna and pork chops would fall from the heavens. There are no miracles. Reform is, first and foremost, well-organized work, joint effort, initiative, and skilfull use of economic mechanisms. The Hungarians introduced reform several dozen years ago and are still improving and modifying it.

Economic reform in our country is laws, regulations, instruments, but above all, it is an everyday struggle, a struggle conducted firmly and resolutely. Today we are at a decisive moment. The terrain in front of us has been cleared insofar as possible, the infrastructure is functioning, there are self-governments, trade unions, and social organizations. But the capitalist states are doing everything they can to make it hard for us to overcome the crisis. And so we must count on ourselves, work better and harder, using our own raw materials. There is pressure in the industrial plants for wage increases. Can we yield to this pressure? Without greater production, full utilization of industry's production capability, filled shop shelves, such decisions can and must be disastrous for the money-market situation, for the economy, and for the flow of producer goods.

Not everyone is doing good work. Because of the poor quality of some products we have had a lot of export returns recently. We are particularly losing valuable foreign exchange, the scarce raw materials are being wasted. Our debts to the capitalist countries are weighing heavily over us. We must adjust to the requirements of the foreign markets at any cost. Because of the economic sanctions it is difficult for us to work and to live. The working people have already endured a great deal. Today it is somewhat better, and there are now foreign exchange allowances. We are getting help from our neighbors. It is well to remember that when we were in our most difficult circumstances the Soviet Union granted Poland an unrepayable loan amounting to 450 million dollars. We are redirecting our economy towards close cooperation with the socialist countries.

Technology, methods of production, can be changed and adapted to needs, and machines can be changed, but no reform will be a substitute for people's commitment. It is well to remember that our party began economic reform alone and considerably weakened. Today in industry we have workers' self-governments, trade unions, which are shaping their own personality. We must help them, because in solving working-class problems we must be together with the unions, the self-governments, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), and with the scientific-technical societies. Economic results are good only where there is cooperation, mutual understanding and discussion in matters of dispute.

In the Problems Groups--We are all Learning that we are Important

The group investigating the problems of the metallurgical and machine industry met under the chairmanship of Zdzislaw Kowalski, KW secretary.

The application of reform, its economic and social effects, was discussed in the light of the experience and production results obtained in the Iskra Roller Bearing Factory, the CHEMAR Industrial Fittings and Chemical Equipment Works, the M. Nowotki Steel Mill in Ostrowiec, the Truck Factory (FSC) in Starachowice, the Metals Plants in Skarzysko-Kamienne, and in KOWENT in Konskie.

--Time has proved--said the plant representatives--that reform was and is essential. It is already bringing favorable results, and ensures a freedom of choice of tasks and structures of production. Not only is the management cadre learning that what it does is important, to make use of economic knowledge, to take advantage of technical and production capabilities. The foreign-exchange fund that the steel mill in Ostrowiec has, for example, makes it possible to develop exports, modernize departments and expand further. However, in the machines industry there is still not enough boldness, not enough initiative. Frequently the reason for this lies in the uncertainty as to the financial results of such actions, the availability of supplies, and also the uncertainty as to the permanence of certain regulations now in effect.

Everyone is competing for the profits necessary for wage increases, repairs, credit repayments, and plant expansions. And still, complained some of the discussants, only a 5 percent profit is allowed in the rigidly enforced regulated prices on unit products in KOWENT.

People are leaving Iskra, CHEMAR, and the Ostrowiec steel mill. Where are they going? Where are the engineers and technicians who leave jobs in heavy industry

finding employment? The suggestion was made that the provincial authorities prepare an analysis of the labor market. It was agreed that reform has not, thus far, improved employment efficiency, and these reserves are not being utilized. The incentive wage system in industry is doing poorly because many workers are being offered better wages outside in small-scale industry, in the cooperatives, in private trade, and in export. On the other hand, wages are a component of the costs included in the prices of products. The purchaser of the goods pays for everything anyway, for the cadre reserves, for the organizational confusion, and for the wasteful management.

Economic reform is a continual process which is being perfected and modified. Life requires this. Thus, for example, repairs made inside the plants often cost one-tenth as much as repairs let out to other enterprises. But as the present regulations are written, it does not pay to make them because they determined by the firm's profitability, are charged to the wage fund and increase the tax for the Vocational Activation Fund (FAZ). When repairs are let out to an outside firm, the costs, according to the law, are included in general costs, and later in the price of the product.

Ryszard Bryk, deputy minister of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, replied to the many questions asked during the discussion, concerning the financing of technical progress, availability of material supplies, and the renovation of enterprises' fixed assets.

#### Construction Obstacles and Barriers

The construction and construction materials industry group discussed the effects of reform in these fields of the economy. Most of the time was devoted to construction. Attempts were made to answer such questions as how to build more and at less cost, how to improve work efficiency and quality, how to improve working conditions, and how to reduce waste of materials.

The effects of reform in construction are slowly becoming evident. For the first six months, often with a lower level of employment, better material results were achieved than last year. Labor productivity improved slightly. The important obstacle in fulfillment of tasks is insufficient conversion capacity. The present system of the flow of material supplies to construction is also an important obstacle. This pertains not only to large investments but also to private construction. That is why so many unfinished buildings, dragging out for years, are seen around Kielce. This lack of consistency between the investment front and supply availability is not conducive to economical management. The assistant manager in the Materials Management Office, Zbigniew Pawlak, who took part in the discussion, promised that beginning next year central distribution will be discontinued and so-called binding mediation will be introduced. This is a type of state control which will somewhat increase the self-dependence of the contractors.

The wage system must also be changed in construction. Thus far it has not given preference to quality, and bonuses are not an incentive factor either. Also, work standards have not changed in years, and at present are an ordinary fiction. It is precisely wages, housing and the ability to travel to export jobs which should be an incentive for good work, for stable cadres in enterprises.

Work breaks are seen rather frequently in construction, and people are coming to work late and leaving work early. The amount of time worked effectively, as one of the discussants said, amounts to 4 to 5 hours daily. One need only to enter the building-site office to see the lack of management efficiency. Thus the often-fictional economy programs are unnecessary, but what is needed is everyday, efficient utilization of people and equipment.

Many comrades suggested that in construction, the party members who are in the self-governments and trade unions be given specific tasks, the purpose of which would be to bring the assumptions of reform closer to implementation.

Marian Surma, KW secretary, was chairman of this group.

#### Prices and Profit Margins on Goods

Prices, margins, division of goods--those subjects dominated in the discussion of the group concerned with trade, services and small-scale production. It was pointed out that where there are no shortages of consumer goods, as for example fruits and vegetables, there is no basis for price interventions. The market itself will regulate the prices, so long as they are profitable to the producers. Yet it is difficult for the public to become accustomed to the fact that in one shop the same item may be cheaper, and in another shop it may be more expensive, and thus there are complaints and the inspection offices are swamped.

The matter of increasing the cost of items as a result of transport costs, often unwarranted, was also raised. For example, apples are transported from Kielce to Poznan, and ladies' slips, like the kind in nearby Jedrzejow, are brought into Kielce from Szczecin. A controversial proposal was made that regionalized deliveries of articles manufactured throughout Poland be introduced. It was also stressed that there are cases where the merchandise is available but cannot be purchased because it has not yet been priced.

The discussants also stated that industry alone cannot settle the problem of extension of a market offer. Barriers in the development of small-scale manufacture and crafts must be surmounted. Particularly where materials supplies, allocation of means of transport, and tax reductions, are concerned.

The extremely lax intraplant inspection is cause for reservation. As a result, trade must devote a lot of time in thoroughly inspecting deliveries in order to avoid purchasing junk.

Insofar as margins are concerned, it was generally stated that they are too low and do not guarantee profitability, and therefore do not guarantee the development of trade enterprises.

The chairman of the group was Eugeniusz Cichon, KW secretary.

#### Reform Must Take the Specific Nature of Agriculture into Account

The group discussing the problems of agricultura and the food industry was chaired by Wieslaw Oczkowicz, member of the KW executive board and first secretary of the PZPR Gmina Committee in Ksiaz Wielki. Ten comrades took part in the discussion.

The application of reform was begun earlier in the state farms and the food industry plants than in industry generally. Agriculture obtained the priorities indispensable to that field of the economy. The results of favorable changes in management methods include a survey of production, changes in the crop structure, adapting sizes of livestock herds to availability of own feedstuffs--all of which means that better economic and financial results are obtained in farming. In the food industry plants, economic reform has resulted in a considerable increase in production.

The favorable effects of economic reform were confirmed in the discussion, and it was also emphasized that reform principles must be adapted to a greater degree to the specific nature of this sector of the national economy. Many matters and problems discussed must be included in the anticipated corrections to the systems solutions. These include the correct establishment of a price policy in relation to agriculture. The present practice of establishing official procurement prices for crops while prices on means for farm production are established by discretion cannot be permitted. The group members proposed that maximum prices be set in the province for services and mechanization in agriculture. These would be binding on all cooperative units and private farmers. It would also be advisable to increase the allotment of machines and farm equipment to the Agricultural Circle's Cooperatives (SKR), which offer services to the farms which do not have their own equipment. The stratification of the countryside into affluent farmers who have their own machines and dictate the price of services, and those who have no equipment at all, is being seen.

The members of the commission demanded that the funds accumulated by the founding organs of the farm enterprises, derived from amortization allowances, be used exclusively for the development of agriculture and the food economy. They also declared themselves to be in favor of creating legal solutions which would make it possible to sell farm crops to socialized farms at agreed-upon prices. The monopoly which now exists in retail trade could then be broken.

9295

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# IMPACT OF REFORM ON MILITARY ENTERPRISE DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 11, 13 Mar 83 p 10

[Article by Jaroslaw Malyszko: "Don't Punish the Honest!"]

[Text] "Do military enterprises have as many problems with the economic reform as civilians?"

The reaction of Lt Col Engineer Julian Przybylski of the Planning Bureau of the Military Construction Enterprise [WBPB] in Poznan was one of surprise:

"We are after all a normal planning bureau like many others in the country. The personnel are mainly civilian workers whose work is like that of their comrades in other bureaus. The only difference is that most of our projects are directed toward fulfilling the needs of national defense. That I work in a uniform does not mean that my function differs from the function of other directors of this type of institute."

Since January 1982, WBPB is treated as an enterprise within the meaning of regulations defining legal principles for the functioning of the economic reform. The principle of self-financing is binding here--only as much can be shared as has been produced.

The bureau did not have an easier start in the reform than other enterprises. It is true that it was always profitable, but the profit was completely turned over to the government budget. On 1 January 1982 it was practically without funds. The only property that WBPB had at its disposal was a building, equipped offices, and the work in progress. The bank even blocked the so-called venture fund that had been negotiated earlier and returned it only in December 1982. It was necessary therefore to draw on high-interest credit for wages.

## Effects of a Difficult Year

Despite the difficult start, the enterprise attained very good financial results during the past year. Productivity increased in comparison with 1981 by 23 percent. Wages rose by 12 percent, and the average wage by 18 percent (employment dropped slightly). Irena Fiszbach made the following comment on these figures:



"We computed the index of increase in productivity in 1981 prices, eliminating the price increase of 1982. Therefore the results reflect only the actual work of the enterprise. Moreover, the costs of our services rose by only 40 percent, significantly less than the costs of production of construction enterprises. For the investor purchases of the project are at present a significantly smaller percentage of construction costs than they were 2 or 3 years ago."

It is actually difficult to admit that a 40 percent price increase for project services is high compared with the price increase in consumer goods. This is borne out by still another example: upon receiving an order from one of the investors, WBPB in Poznan wanted to commission a civilian project bureau to fill a part of the order. That bureau wanted more money than WBPB was to receive for the whole project. It is difficult to believe in the honesty of this calculation.

In WBPB the reform is not treated as an opportunity for easy access to big money without working for it. Engineer Andrzej Matusiak, a member of the commission for economic reform speaks of this:

"We started with a review of permanent positions. It developed that some of the positions in the administration could be consolidated. But reducing permanent positions could not be extensive. No matter what the size of the bureau, there must be a certain minimum number of administrative workers. Another direction of activity was to make work more efficient. We introduced streamlining that was seemingly small, but had a great effect on productivity. For example, decreasing the distance the project director had to cover several times or several tens of times each day in moving from room to room. Here even a distance of 10 meters matters because the most important factor in production, the work time of project directors, is saved. We also freed them of many administrative tasks."

At the same time, as finance regulations of enterprises were refined, a series of analyses of the activity of the bureau were made. During the last quarter it developed that additional project work worth a million zlotys had to be done. The director had a man-to-man talk with the workers, presented the situation accurately, and...the work was done.

This is proof that when the workers know what effect their work will have for both the enterprise and for them, it is easier to cope with the most difficult tasks.

#### A Rebirth of the Union

The new economic system requires authentic comanagement by the whole workforce. Here WBPB traditions should be considered. In the 1970's the Trade Union of Government and Social Employees was active in the bureau. The achievements of this union are impressive both in concern for social matters, vacations, tourism, and cultural activities and in cooperating in decision making in activities of the bureau. But there were also inadequacies. The union as a whole did not adequately defend the interests of such a specific union group as the civilians working for the military.

In August 1981, when the Independent Self-governing Trade Union of Military Workers was formed, the hopes of the workers rose, particularly with respect to the new regulation of the legal status of civilians working for the military. Soon, however, activity of all trade unions was suspended.

In WBPB the director formed a social commission composed of representatives of the administration of the suspended union. This is evidence that the directors of the bureau and the workers agree in their regard for the work of the union representatives, and this is certainly a good prognosis for the future.

But the creation of new unions does not take place without problems.

Leszek Matysiak, a member of the trade union founding commission said, "We don't need to beat around the bush. The workers were bitter about the decision to dissolve our trade union. Our organization, despite the short term of its activity, had earned the trust of the workers."

Jerzy Farat, also a member of this commission, added: "It is not surprising that the workers were opposed to the dissolution of our organization; it had passed its tests with flying colors. Even now, after several months, ever more often we hear that new unions are indispensable, and people pledge cooperation. Two days ago we distributed membership pledges and 40 percent of the workers have already agreed to join. Therefore we have reason for optimism, especially since we have avoided all forms of pressure for joining the union."

But perhaps it is easier to direct the enterprise without a union organization.?

The director of the enterprise decidedly rejected this conjecture:

"I am waiting for a strong union organization because this can only help the work of the enterprise. It is still difficult today to describe the definitive form of self-government of the workers in our bureau, but it must be developed specifically in cooperation with the trade unions.

"Here we already have significant experience gathered over many years. We had open meetings of the workers organized by the administration, and by both the youth and trade union party organizations. We debated about the most important problems of the bureau, discussed plans, proposed programs of action. The resolution of the meeting contained specific tasks and designated those responsible for carrying them out. At the next meeting an accounting was given concerning these tasks. Thus the reform in the sphere of self-government of the workers is nothing new to us; we have proven examples of action..."

#### Economy and Morality

The project bureau is an institution where the majority of workers are highly skilled engineers and technicians who do work that is creative to a

significant degree. This should result in their being paid more than the national average wage. This is not so however: the average pension in WBPB is not more than 10,000 zlotys.

It is characteristic that the workers' claims are not directed against the administration of the bureau.

Stanislaw Galezewski said: "I know that the administration of the enterprise approaches this matter honestly and in agreement with the regulations. It does not pay for position, but for work actually done. The problem, therefore, lies elsewhere. In other enterprises ways are probably devised of bypassing the regulations, financial results are inflated by the increase in prices or in some other way. How else is it possible that in our enterprise, with an actual increase in productivity, wages rose by only 1500 zlotys during the past year while in other places they rose by several times more while productivity did not rise at all or even dropped?"

The same misgivings were voiced by the director, Col Engineer Julian Przybyski:

"In our enterprise we treat the economic reform not only in economic, but also in moral categories. Here honesty must be obligatory. Nevertheless we see many disturbing developments. One of these is the enormous price increases collected by some civilian project bureaus followed by a significant increase in bonuses for workers. If these obvious irregularities are not quickly eliminated and their results corrected, if the guilty are not made to suffer consequences, then our workers will be punished for believing in the principle of better pay for better work. Meanwhile how are we going to explain this to our workers?"

One more thing must be added about money. In 1981 WBPB workers did not accept bonuses for one of the projects, but dedicated them to a social purpose. They sponsored four places for orphans in a Poznan orphanage. They are considering a similar action at present.

2950

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CONCERN FOR DEVELOPMENT OF AIDS DISEASE NOTED

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 7 Sep 83 p4

[Interview with Docent Dr Andrzej Stapinski, director of the Venereology Institute, Warsaw, by G. Ossowski: "A New Venereal Disease?"]

[Text] Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (rendered in English: AIDS) is a secret disease. The secret is that although the first incidence of it goes back to the latter half of the 1970's, up until now there has been no success at all in discovering either its cause or its method of treatment, or even the particular changes which may be noted to permit early detection. Indeed, we do not even know how long man has suffered from the disease. All we know is that up until now, within a few months or just over a year the patient inevitably dies, and that drug abusers and homosexuals are the main victims. Therefore, medicine is faced with a new, difficult puzzle. Engaged in the solution are scientists from many countries. We are interviewing the head of the Venereology Institute in Warsaw, Docent Dr Andrzej Stapinski, on the subject of AIDS.

[Question] Can we consider AIDS (the lack of resistance to harmful bacteria, viruses, and poisons) a venereal disease?

[Answer] At the outset, I would like to mention that the term "venereal disease" is not being used anymore but has been replaced by the term "sexually-transmitted disease." There are two reasons for this. First, venereal disease has been considered something shameful, generally speaking, and as a result something to hide, for fear of condemnation, a fact which led to delayed treatment and therefore increased contagion. Second, not all sexually transmitted diseases were considered venereal diseases. For example, Trichomonas was considered a gynecological affliction.

But now, in answer to the question you asked, probably so, because about 70 percent of the incidences of the disease come from sexual contacts (homosexuals), although there is another route of contagion, injection. This first of all applies to drug users (17 percent of the cases detected) but also to blood transfusions. (Such cases have already been documented).

[Question] Has AIDS appeared in Europe yet?

[Answer] Yes, in many countries, including the FRG and Sweden. As for Poland, no AIDS has yet been detected, according to reports, but that by no means indicates the absence of the disease. It is difficult to detect, given the absence of any specific symptoms of the disease. As we mentioned, the majority of the cases discovered have involved homosexuals, and therefore the countries most affected are those where this group is large. In this respect we are not at the forefront. We find the following note in the letters of Leopold Lafontaine, physician to King Stanislaw, (1792) published in the form of a book: "they are in no way familiar with homosexuality, as it is practiced in neighboring countries, and they find it repulsive."

It is characteristic that AIDS has been noted in women who are the partners of homosexual males and even in the children of this group.

[Question] What can you say about the causes of the disease?

[Answer] The cause is unknown. It is said that it could be some sort of virus, but up until now this is pure conjecture.

[Question] How much truth is there in the statement that AIDS is incurable?

[Answer] All attempts to treat the disease up till now have proved ineffective. And everything that could possibly help actually has been tried. Hence, all sorts of possible antibiotics and hormonal treatments, and all sorts of agents to activate the body's resistance from various troupes have been used.

[Question] What is the incubation period, and what sort of possibility is there of early detection?

[Answer] The incubation period remains a mystery along with the possibility of detection, owing to the absence of specific characteristics, a fact which makes detection very difficult. There are a number of symptoms like high fever, swelling of lymph nodes, uncontrollable watery diarrhea, persistent cough, and simultaneous difficulty in breathing. The problem is that all these symptoms appear in many other diseases as well.

The first diagnoses have been based on skin changes in the form of red spots on the patient's body. But this symptom is not certain either, because they also appear in a skin cancer called Kapos disease, but the first diagnoses have been based largely on them. But these symptoms appear only in the advanced stages of the disease. During this advanced stage disturbances in the white corpuscles are also noted, especially in the lymphocytes, which play an important role in the body's defense system.

[Question] Is there any possibility of an epidemic among the groups that are attacked by the disease?

[Answer] I do not think so. In 1976 in our country there was penicillin-resistant gonorrhea in our country. There was the fear that this might cause a sudden spread of this contagious disease, but fortunately it turned out that these fears were groundless. Other means of treatment simply were found. The same is true now. The groups at risk are homosexuals and drug abusers, but there is no cause for alarm here either. Before AIDS could expand, a cure will be found for it too, especially since research programs are going on in many countries, and scientific activity in this area in general is very intense.

10790

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# FUNCTIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION MAIN RESEARCH CENTER DESCRIBED

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Ewa Wanacka]

[Text] The Public Opinion Main Research Center was established in 1982, however, the very idea for the establishment of such an organization was conceived much earlier. The fact that the realization of this plan was in fact accomplished during martial law, and that the resolution on the establishment of the Public Opinion Main Research Center was signed by the premier, Wojciech Jaruzelski, is significant. Through its sociological studies, the center is currently an important source of information concerning public opinion on diverse topics. In this manner the public can exert its influence upon the decision-making process. This represents one of the principal aspects of the democratization of government, and not merely a declaratory statement on the need for dealing with public opinion.

The director of the Public Opinion Main Research Center, Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, doctor emeritus, has noted that "in recent times there were many more decisions of this type. Socialist democracy began to take on a definite form, and was transformed from a formal notation into reality and public practice. In order to understand the needs and expectations of the citizens, the government listens, asks questions and wants to know. It knowingly resigns from the luxury of ignorance, and realizes that the lack of information cannot represent a justification."

The center was established in line with this resolution, and with the objective of providing information on public opinion with regard to the public and economic tasks undertaken and realized by the government.

It is apparent that one of the chief complaints against the leadership's conduct in the 1970's was its undertaking of arbitrary decisions without any knowledge of reality or of public attitudes. Can the center therefore cite examples of its activity which demonstrate that it is any different now?

Director Kwiatkowski says "Yes, we have been involved with wages on orders from the premier's Economic Advisory Group since the beginning of this year. I believe that in the report on wage reform published in the press, the proposals included in our studies were justified.

"That is the title page of one of our reports. As you can see, it includes a handwritten decree by General Wojciech Jaruzelski requiring dozens of individuals named, government, and PZPR Central Committee Secretariat members to present suitable proposals regarding this report at the Politburo and Council of Ministers sessions. What more can we expect?

"Yet another report and a successive general reference addressed to one of the deputy premiers, states: 'I request a penetrating evaluation with proposals. Later at the Council of Ministers.' Date and signature." It is evident from this that the reports are read and are the subject of analysis.

The center must seek a suitable position in its appraisal of the situation, justifying both differing points of view, the macroscale government view, and the public one--interest on a private, professional and stratified basis. The dilemma is how to make both points of view compatible instrumentally for the government, and satisfy both camps.

In its decisions, the government naturally includes propublic intentions. Yet in the course of their realization, sometimes so many unintended incidents occur that they become contradictory, and are seen as being harmful, detrimental, and absurd. Each government decision will be accepted differently by different classes, levels and social groups. The government's decisions will never fully satisfy everyone, however, awareness of this achieves nothing. The fact is that before a decision is undertaken, it is necessary to be aware of who benefits, who is indifferent, and who may lose. This simply leads to ideological criteria of choice: Whose concern is it above all (the working class's), who is it not possible to ignore (the private farmers, skilled trades), who must be protected (the economically poor), who must be tolerated (the lower middle class), with whom must we cooperate (the Church), and who must we restrain (the nouveau riche)?

Observing the current and permanently changing situation it is difficult to determine if sufficient knowledge exists with regard to the realities and attitudes, whether it is fragmentary or large-scale knowledge, since up until this time existing studies have not allowed for a complete evaluation. Shortly it will be impossible to vouch for the center, since attention is being concentrated on opinions, in other words on that which is only secondary. The ambition of this institute, however, is to attempt, within limits, to define and supplement knowledge on the actual socioeconomic standing of the working class with respect to other classes and strata. Thus with time, an ideological function will be carried out. By systematically examining the opinions of the working class, and presenting proposals, it seeks a mutual language for both sides.

The government and public points of view are drawing closer and are attempting to define the areas of understanding, through the demonstration of a sense of government action against a background of differences and opposing interests.



The center is concerned with public opinion. This public opinion can be rendered in a very dull manner, brick by brick, until a clear-cut image will emerge from the individual pieces, as in a mosaic. Each study contributes new pieces, but does not give a precise picture.

Director Kwiatkowski noted that "We want to reach public opinion through a variety of means. This is the reason for the varied organizational structure of the center, the different departments and groups, the long-term planning of studies, and the diversity of methods and techniques."

A theoretical center base was initiated, independent of everything which is taking place within the institute. A nationwide Polish methodological seminar was established on the basis of disinterested cooperation, and assembled together a group of competent scholars from several fields of Marxism. The first meetings chiefly concerned the study of public confidence, a critical evaluation of the class structure, and the categories of public opinion.

The second part of the theoretical base is represented by the advisory workshop, whose objective is to study and discern above all, the intelligentsia circles which are the most opinionated. Therefore since its inception, it already possesses a wide, open, and PRON-like character. Scholars representing different theoretic orientations, from adverse political parties, and Catholic organizations are involved in the workshop's program. The first poll will be concerned with the question: What kind of socialism? A meeting on this subject will be held in September.

Do all those who undertake decisions realize the real need for questions, consultations, and awareness of what is going on? Do they prefer to retain their official opinion?

Work on the first study was begun with a question posed by the ministries and central organs concerning what is to be expected of the Public Opinion Main Research Center?

Director Kwiatkowski notes that "The government will learn from the opportunities presented by this organization, that is, it will teach the difficult task of asking questions. Resign from official convictions that one knows that which one only pretends to know. To realize that one does not know everything is a wisdom which was noted 3 centuries ago. It is necessary to become aware of this ignorance and go public with it.

"The whole idea is only being conceived, and will be developed and there will certainly be disagreement. Especially when the results differ from someone's current understanding of public affairs, what type of society this is, and what it seeks. On the other hand, it is worthwhile for the citizens to reveal and demonstrate that society is not a monolith, but is often made up of group, community, and class interests. We intend to be active in propagandizing and publishing the results of our studies."

The center initiated a telephone service. The number is 21-34-34, Warsaw daily from 9:00 to 7:00. The address is 00-950 Warsaw, Zurawia Street 4a,

P.O. Box 24, Department of Letters. I am giving this information at the request of the center employees, who treat the phones and letters as a form of contact with everyone who is concerned. This represents a hotline with the public, and the telephone allows one to see things as they are.

What is the leadership being criticized for?

The women on duty at the phones note that people do not call to compliment. This is not the time to commend the government. The majority of opinions, therefore are critical, what do they criticize? Everyone who calls in expresses his subjective evaluation about whose validity he is totally convinced. Noted very frequently are diametrically opposed opinions which intersect. Yet at the same time, there is no shortage of friendly chats, and comments whereby someone attempts to suggest a solution.

Glancing through the material I did not observe studies being carried out in Slask and its enterprises. Will the Public Opinion Main Research Center base its results solely on the enterprises in the metropolitan areas?

Director Kwiatkowski noted that "This year especially we are particularly sensitive to the opinions of the heavy industry working class, which is chiefly located in Slask. The majority of the enterprises selected for the studies for this year are located in Slask. In conjunction with this only in Katowice do we have the first local organization with two permanent coordinators (others are at the talks). The organization will carry out studies, and these topics are of veritable importance."

Along with the department of public studies typically sociological, long-term, and cyclically repetitive to create a state of awareness among the working class, there exists a center department for extemporaneous studies, and one which is geared rather toward observing attitudes and opinion polls, how the working class accepts government decisions, political events, new important documents, and official pronouncements.

Irrespective of the center's own studies, it will also commission various specialized organizations and institutes (for example ministerial and academic) to study diverse matters. This is the reason for the existence of the coordination department. In addition the departments of research analysis, research and bibliographic information are required to observe what others do, intercept everything which can ease the government's decision-making process, and assist in the perfecting of style and method of governing.

In turn, the department of press analysis examines the central, regional, and even factory press. It seeks in the press, above all, the opinions of experts and various signals concerning facts and tendencies appearing in journalism, and public reaction toward specific government actions, decisions, or proposals.

Letters, grievances, and complaints also constitute opinions. Yet, does the Center benefit from them? We established a department of the analysis of letters sent to the central offices and institutes. I hear from the

sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, former employees of the organization and management department now working at the Public Opinion Main Research Center that the grievances and letters departments work with each central party and government level: with the PZPR Central Committee, in the Sejm, the People's State Council, Office of the Council of Ministers, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the Supreme Chamber of Control, the Supreme Court, and in the ministries. The appropriate offices have their newspaper and journal editorial offices.

During the year, millions of citizens express themselves in their letters on various issues. They are handled as petitioners. Later, official investigations as to whom, how many, and concerning what subject are carried out. These letters are not analysed as they should be, however. The chief cognitive material remains behind in the initial files. After all the appraisals, signals and proposals contained in the letters, though they do not reflect the attitudes of all levels of society, nevertheless represent an important source of information. They concern the most acute issues on the activity of the local government organs, and are of a prominent analytic character.

Undoubtedly a letter is a very personal form of expressing an opinion. Different types of people write about diverse matters, most often those which concern them, and those who are being treated unjustly expect some type of redress. When people are agitated by something they write to unburden themselves, or in their opinion simply to signal certain important social problems, and wish to present suggestions, assistance or focus attention.

The analysis of the letters on a broader scale necessitates appropriate preparation, especially on the informational level. For the time being the center gains experience by studying the letters addressed to the Office of the Council of Ministers, especially those of citizens. There are tens of thousands of them annually. They concern matters being commented on in specific communities, those which people live by which agitate them or please them, and those which are linked to the future. They constitute an important source of information. The Public Opinion Main Research Center does not carry out direct interventionist activity. Letters of complaint are directed to the Department of Grievances and Letters of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Public Opinion Main Research Center employees note that they do not want to disregard even the most insignificant matters. After all insignificant matters cease being such when they are numerous, and signal increasing problems of a nationwide nature concerning the need for making decisions of some sort or making changes, etc. The letters treated in this manner assist in uncovering new truths, they raise hypotheses and verify them, serve as sample directive material for other studies, for example, questionnaires.

During the rather short time of its existence, the center has already carried out several important studies. Among others, these include opinions of workers as to wages, trade unions, as well as sociological picture of several of the large enterprises. I glanced through these reports and pictures, and I got the impression that this presents the naked and harsh truth without retouching it. One can suppose that the Public Opinion Main Research Center is a service institution, but not a complaisant one, although it still remains a government organization.

NAWROCKI ON BACKGROUND TO DISSOLUTION OF WRITERS UNION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Sep 83 p 4

[Article By Witold Nawrocki, director of PZPR Central Committee Culture Department: "Responsibility Devolves on the Leaders"]

[Text] The Minister of Internal Affairs, having thoroughly considered an appeal by the Main Board of the Polish Writers' Union of the decision of the governor of the capital city of Warsaw of 19 August 1983, which dissolved the association of Polish writers, upheld the contested decision. Therefore, on 9 September 1983, the Polish Writers' Union ceased to exist.

The Main Board of the dissolved ZLP [Polish Writers' Union] fought until the end for the fulfillment of its main postulate by the authorities, i.e., enabling the union to start its activities unconditionally, without negotiating genuine guarantees safeguarding the writers' organization against a repeated introduction of the union to the field of political struggle and against the continuation of nonstatutory activities alternative to the state cultural policy. The leadership of the ZLP did not acknowledge the documented statement of the authorities that the crisis in the union was of a political nature and, therefore, the normalization of the situation in the association must be made contingent on the removal of the political obstacles which rendered the recommencement of the statutory activity of the ZLP impossible and on the formulation of guarantees which would ensure the compliance of the union's activity with the preamble of the statute, which defines the principles of existence and activity of this literary institution in the legal and political system of the People's Poland. In practical terms, it meant appraising the past in a rational fashion and outlining the principles of cooperation between the union and the authorities in solving complex creative and professional problems of the literary community; also, it meant such an internal transformation of the union as to insure that congruity of the statutory goals of union activity and its real activities be preserved not only in verbal declarations, but in fact and to the letter. The leadership of the union was requested to express disapproval at numerous instances of antisocialist involvement of ZLP members and members of the Main Board, manifested in cooperating with foreign centers of political subversion, undermining the unity of Polish literature by transferring the authors and literary works abroad to emigré publishing centers and vigorous activity

against the sociopolitical stabilization through fostering hatred towards the socialist sociopolitical arrangements employed in Poland after the imposition of martial law. It was expected that the authorities of the union would recognize the manifestations of these activities to be violations of the statutory obligations, which a member of the association assumes in joining it voluntarily and without compulsion.

### Rejection of Compromise

In the course of talks with the authorities as well as in a lengthy text justifying the appeal of the decision to dissolve the union, the representatives of the Main Board found it impossible to meet these expectations, both with regard to the self-appraisal of the union's activity after the 21st Congress in December 1980 and to the issue of putting up appropriate safeguards against a return of antisocialist views and attitudes among a segment of the literary community. In the appeal, they rejected the accusations that a segment of the ZSL leadership and membership used the union as "a ground and device of struggle against the political system and authorities of the People's Republic of Poland" and found them to be "untruthful and without foundation in fact." They did not want to, or could not, exactly due to the political obligations, admit to the oppositional political options expressed in union documents and in direct activity on the side of the enemies of socialism. They did not consider possible to pass any judgment on the conduct of the members of the union and its Main Board abroad, of those who openly and ostentatiously fight against socialist legal and political order in Poland in the sphere of journalism and literature and assail our political and defensive alliances. In the course of talks and in the appeal, they painted their activity as impeccable and not contradictory to the Polish sociopolitical order and once again demanded that the right of the union to conduct unlimited activity after its unconditional reactivation be recognized.

The leadership group which emerged at the Extraordinary Congress in December 1980 rejected all compromise solutions and prospects of agreements through mediation during the entire period of suspension of the union. It demanded a comprehensive reinstatement of the opportunities for its activities which the group obtained after protracted and diligent preparation. These preparations brought about the takeover by this group at the December General Congress. The direction for these activities was defined by Jan Jozef Szczepanski as early as 14 June 1980, when in his speech made at the General Meeting of the Association of Scientific Courses he recognized the problem of national education to be the most essential and important for all of those who resist and fight opportunism. Demanding a revision in the relaying of the canons of national tradition, he stated: "Despite all the devastation spread by progressing Sovietization, we can nonetheless rely on a more mature awareness of the society, on its higher ability to regenerate.... The experience of the Polish people in this sphere is quite telling. German totalitarianism set itself the goal of not only liquidating the Polish statehood, but also of obliterating the Polish cultural identity, bringing to an end once and for all the opportunity for an independent Polish nation. The Soviet totalitarianism, more subtle beyond any comparison and more far-sighted, strives to subjugate this people entirely and rob it of its own will, resorting, among

other things, to the slogans of [its] own nationalism." Therefore, the struggle for a modification in relaying the tradition in such a way as to bring to the fore nationalistic, anti-Russian and anti-Soviet, superpower and religious elements was acknowledged by Jan Jozef Szczepanski, the leader of union opposition, to be the most important priority.

#### Restoration of Myths

In a polyphonic chorus during the 21st Extraordinary Congress, not only a revision in the canons of traditions was demanded, but also such a general reconstruction of Polish culture which would legalize the national mythology that has been overcome in the course of history and divorce it from the socialist ideological inspiration. This was stated by Andrzej Braun and Jacek Bochenski, Marek Nowakowski and Anna Kamienska, Kazimierz Orlos and Jan Jozef Lipski, who levelled accusations of impoverishing and devastating Polish culture, of building a culture of injustice and prejudice (Orlos), hatred (Kamienska), lies and disrespect for human dignity (Braun). Said Andrzej Braun: "Lies, or putting it mildly, falsehoods are a permanent element of national education in this country. Lies, or else concealment, or half-truth, or ultimately, a lopsided and tendentious truth--and this, after all, is also a lie. These falsehoods are served as early as in school, as if in an absurd conviction that the lack of knowledge or partial, distorted and crippled knowledge can provide better ammunition for a young man, can give him a firmer basis or point of departure for subsequently getting his bearings in the world, for sensible activities in a complex mature life."

According to Andrzej Braun, the statement that during the war "the people fought for a socialist Poland" is a lie, the statement that socialism broadens the limits of human freedom is a lie because it forces people to live "without dignity, without rights and without freedoms and, on top of all that, in need," it is also not true that socialism brought about cultural progress for the Polish working classes. Socialism has deprived the society by using "only one system of values, only one, and therefore, one-sided criterion of judgment." Therefore, a suggestion was made to approach the relevant authorities with a postulate to change the teaching of humanities, and especially of Polish and foreign literature and history in schools of all levels. As early as June 1981, the NSZZ Solidarity commission for national education headed by the member of the Main Board Jan Blonski made radical changes in the customary required readings lists. Works associated with the program of the Left and the rationalistic tradition were eliminated and substituted by pieces of a religious nature as well as the newest texts written from the antisocialist viewpoint.

In the provision on the suggestion, the following was written: "These matters must be coordinated with the Consultative Commission of Creative Associations." Characteristically, other suggestions of the congress are also addressed to the authorities and the Consultative Committee of Creative Associations, which points to the treatment of this illegal organization as a recognized alternative to the General Congress stressed in a symbolic way political alignments of a different sort. The Warsaw election meeting of the ZLP was inaugurated by Zbigniew Bujak and the congress itself--by Seweryn Jaworski. They were

greeted and received with enthusiasm, though the speeches of extremist [trade] union leaders called for a spiritual occupation of literature according to the clerico-nationalistic rules.

The presence of Bujak and Jaworski was in anticipation of activities which were undertaken later and brought about the signing of an agreement between the ZLP Main Board and NSZZ Solidarity on the cooperation in the propagation and development of culture on 26 September 1981. Until the end, the Main Board did not want to make a straightforward assessment of this agreement, despite the fact that it bound the writers' organization to that sociopolitical movement powerfully and for the long run. The ZLP Main Board undertook to assist in organizing Solidarity book collections and libraries, to work out programs for workers' universities, to organize lectures, to publish cultural periodicals of Solidarity and to prepare television and radio broadcasts of this union. The Main Board declared its readiness to adjust the cultural policy of the state in cooperation with Solidarity (publishing houses, sociocultural periodicals, theater, film, radio and television), to reward artists and set up scholarship. The Main Board also proclaimed joint action "in all other matters related to the development of national culture and unspecified in the present agreement."

The scope of problems coordinated with Solidarity by way of agreement indicated that the Main Board viewed this organization as an alternative to existing state structures and associated far-reaching hopes with the sociopolitical movement Solidarity. These were also political hopes, since the commission on cooperation with Solidarity headed by Marek Nowakowski via the selection of lecturers carried out the tasks consistent with the line of political propaganda of the KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers] segment of Solidarity leadership. Lecturers (among others, Tomasz Burek, Andrzej Drawicz, Marta Fik, Michal Glowinski, Michal Komar, Janusz Maciejewski, Marek Nowakowski, Kazimierz Orlos, Andrzej Werner, Piotr Wierbicki, Waldyslaw Bartoszewski, Wojciech Karpinski) dispatched to worker, student, teacher communities and so on, engaged primarily in propagating anticommunist literature published by emigré centers, advertising similar trends in the so-called independent literature, discrediting the history of the People's Republic of Poland and so on.

#### A Peculiar "Unity" of Culture

The activity of the ZLP Main Board was in line with the understandings of the extreme segment of Solidarity leadership in the sphere of publishing as well. As the chairman of the Main Board, J. J. Szczepanski, said in an interview to ZYCIE WARSZAWY, in the office of the union a meeting took place between the members of the ZLP authorities Andrzej Szczypiorski and Andrzej Drawicz and the representatives of the Independent Publishing House M. Chojecki, A Michnik and K. Bielski, where a project of setting up a publishing house was discussed. Its program, which was reviewed by Adam Michnik, was to consist primarily of reprints from books produced by emigre publishing houses, publications of the so-called dissidents of Central and Eastern Europe and works originating from the so-called independent publishing circulation.

The ZLP Main Board, on the recommendation of the 21st Congress, offered to the Independent Publishing House its own list of suggested authors and titles, where next to Herling-Grudzinski, Juliusz Mieroszewski, Adam Pragier and Kazimierz Pruzak, Alexander Zinoviev, Harry Truman, Sandor Koraczi, Vaclav Havel and others could be found. The slogan of unity of the Polish culture was exploited in an extremely instrumental way as a screen for legalizing free communication and circulation of antisocialist publications of Polish emigres or those translated into Polish.

Various manipulations with the statute were also an anticipation [sic]. Despite the unambiguous statement in the preamble of the statute that the ZLP unites the writers adhering to the constitution of the socialist state, the new leadership group incessantly strove to build bridges between the ZLP and the group of KULTURA in Paris and also other emigré groupings known for their extreme hostility towards the People's Republic of Poland. Members of the ZLP and its Main Board who published their texts in the emigre publishing houses did not encounter a warning that they were transgressing the statutory rules which they have recognized by joining the ZLP. This brought about something of a paradox, in that both those coming out against the statute and those respecting it were accorded the same rights in the union. The rights were not entirely the same, because manipulations with the statute at the 21st Congress deprived the chairmen of the chapters of a vote at plenary meetings of the Main Board, introduced a ban on holding both union and party posts and introduced the principle of the so-called follow-ups between congresses every 18 months in order to discipline and strengthen the offensive activity of the association.

The leadership group which positioned itself in the main agencies of the ZLP did not restrict itself to the limits of a trade organization or writers. In line with the needs of centralized political guidance, an unprecedented personal union was provided for in influential positions of the main representative organs of the literary world. A substantial share of the members of the ZLP Main Board also made up the board of PEN-Club, were members of the Secretariat of the Consultative Committee of Creative Associations, the Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience, the central KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers] leadership and the publishing agencies associated with it. The authors of the lengthy appeal's text know well about the activity of Anka Kowalska, Jacek Berezin, Stefan Kisielewski, Kazimierz Orlos, Jan Jozef Lipski, Jacek Bochenski, Andrzej Szczypiorski, Andrzej Kijowski and others in various representative bodies involved in political activities. These activities are not to be explained by the thesis formulated by those who signed the appeal on the right of a writer to nonconformist convictions and attitudes. It is not the convictions that are in question, but the technique of their propagation in society and political struggle aimed at changing the political order and the system of the country.

To be sure, the ZLP Main Board did not remove the statutory preamble on the position of ZLP activity in the political and legal system of the People's Republic of Poland. However, through multifaceted activities it strove to actually change the political assumptions of the union's operation. To this end, the slogan of unity of Polish culture was used to shield the activity of



writers who have actually remained in emigration for a long time and have practiced antisocialist activity there (Leszek Kolakowski, Włodzimierz Odojewski, Krzysztof Pomian, Zdzisław Najder and others) and also to promote the publication of their works in domestic and unofficial publishing houses. In violation of the statute, Jacek Berezin was admitted to the ZPL on the basis of publications in Paris KULTURA. Juliusz Zulański, the then chairman of the Polish PEN-Club, called the TV polemics with Jerzy Giedroyc, a man who allegedly has served the Polish culture so well, a shameful act. The Paris publishing house headed by that same Giedroyc has put and it putting out many texts levelled against socialism. The Main Board never tried to settle these matters and bring them into order, nor did it come out against the splitting of Polish literature into domestic and emigré literature by way of a political annexation of a part of the literary output by political emigration and of harnessing domestic artists for the realization of political orders from western centers of ideological subversion (Marek Nowakowski, Jerzy Anderman, Stefan Kisielewski, Andrzej Szczypiorski and others).

### An Alliance with Giedroyc

Members of the Presidium of the Main Board have argued and are arguing that political views of the union members are their private matter. To a degree, one can agree with this assertion, bearing in mind, however, the restriction set forth in the statute preamble. However, the views of the members of union authorities when published or stated from the rostrum, cease to be their private matter, because they denote the stand and define the organization which made these people its leaders. The manifestations of the meeting of minds with the Giedroyc's group were not the only determinant of the direction in which the new leaders were pushing the union. Andrzej Kijowski, a Main Board member and the chairman of the Qualification Commission reached for a more profound, historical motivation of this turn, stating from the rostrum of the Congress of Polish Culture: "...Poland is not the sick man of Europe, but rather its sensitive spot, where all at once the symptoms have shown up of the diseases long concealed in its organism violated by arbitrary arrangements. This character of the Polish crisis must be understood by the superpowers which concluded and guaranteed these arrangements as well as the Poles themselves who, suffering from economic hunger and at an immense risk, are acting in behalf of a new European order, though themselves [the Poles] do not intend to change it. They are working in behalf of new international relations, though the reform is beyond their power."

The concept of revision of the Yalta-Potsdam agreements is the basis for calculations and political hopes of Jerzy Giedroyc. However, an appeal to revise the results of World War II made by a member of the ZLP Main Board must cause resolute objections. Along with a national catastrophe which would be caused by the practical consequences of this appeal, the ZLP chapters in Olsztyn, Koszalin, Słupsk, Szczecin, Zielona Góra, Wrocław and Opole would be wiped off the map of Polish culture. If nothing else, then, at least the consideration of the interests of the union which is obligatory for a Presidium member should make Kijowski refrain from appeals of that kind.

Unfortunately, facts prove that political statements by members of the ZLP authorities which emerged on the crest of a dramatic crisis are not accidental and disjointed segments of a larger train of thought, but rather a component of a coherent and comprehensive orientation. The reinstatement of the principles of existence of the Polish state which were at the root of its life and peril between the [two world] wars is the essence of this orientation. This political system consists of anti-Sovietism, a philo-Germanic reflex in the version of political leadership by the Federal Republic of Germany in Central and Eastern Europe, hopes that an opportunity exists to reinstate the liberal-bourgeois political order, revision of boundaries and Christian fundamentalism. Andrzej Szczepiorski, a member of the Main Board and chairman of the Oversight Commission declared on 12 December 1981, that is to say, after uncamouflaged confrontational manifestations of the leaders of the National Consultative Commission in Radom: "...Today, there are two places where the attention of all is focused. In Gdansk, the National Committee of Solidarity is meeting, and in Warsaw, the Congress of culture. Certainly, the matter of problems these forums will have to solve is different, but what they have in common is the present and the future of the country. It is clear that the decisions of the Consultative Commission have a different dimension and character. But let us not be too modest, because this would be coquetry in bad taste. The voice of scientists and artists carries some weight in Poland. Society today awaits our balanced judgment and sensible opinions. The view that we can evade this, that politics can somehow be avoided in this hall and we can wait out the difficult time in isolation from the conflicts of the day is not only tragically naive, but also fainthearted and shameful.... Understanding between the authorities and the people does not exist because the authorities serve the people and are not its partner," he finished, giving assurances that power lies in the street and it need only be picked up.

#### Beyond and Above the State

The ends to which an array of suggestions making up the resolution on strengthening the self-government in the union adopted by the 21st Congress was introduced were now becoming evident. This resolution restricted any interference by the state and accorded the union the position of an organization totally independent of superior regulations in the sphere of the ZLP activities inside and outside the country. The separation of the ZLP from the leftwing social and political organizations (especially the PZPR) became especially meaningful in view of preserving all the links binding the Main Board members with KOR (Anka Kowalska, Kazimierz Orlos, Jan Jozef Lipski) or its affiliated institutions (Jacek Bochenski, Kazimierz Dziwanowski, Andrzej Braun, Pawel Hertz, Marek Nowakowski, Tomasz Burek, Julia Hartwig, Anna Trzeciakowska, Anna Kamienska, Jerzy S. Sito, Andrzej Kijowski, Egon Naganowski, Marian Brandys, Lech Badkowski) such as NOWA [Independent Publishing House], the Association of Scientific Courses, the Polish Independence Alliance [Zdzislaw Najder, Stefan Kisielewski], the extreme groups of Solidarity, the illegally operating Consultative Committee of Creative and Scientific Associations and the Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience. The resolution of the 21st Congress on the freedom of contacts with the world is meaningful evidence that the union intended to pave the way for an entirely free

circulation of communications between the country and the emigré community, withdrawing its activity from under any interference by the state which would frustrate the "free" transfer of works from the West to Poland and the freedom of the ZLP contacts with the West. It is no wonder that the ZLP offices became the place where unauthorized literature was disseminated and stock-piled as well as the last territory where the remains of the Congress of Polish Culture operated. The ZLP literally placed itself outside the law in effect in the state and accorded itself usurpationist rights to totally uninhibited political and propaganda activity.

#### Unclear Assurances

All of this, not to mention the analysis of literary and journalistic works published by politically oppositional publishing houses abroad and inside the country, laid the foundation for the decision to suspend the activities of the Union of Polish Writers. After the imposition of the state of war in Poland, the members of the Main Board and a segment of the suspended ZLP membership associated with the antisocialist political opposition, did not stop and even reinforced their activities inside the country and abroad. actively resisted the military law and social stabilization achieved on the road of national understanding.

In this situation, the demand to reactivate the union unconditionally and an unclear assurance that after the opportunity for legal activity is restored the evolution of the ZLP which was expected by the authorities would develop in the direction of drafting a professional-creative program of this organization and restructuring the organization's authorities at the 22nd General Congress in such a way as to represent the interests of all political and worldview groups in the Main Board, were unacceptable to the authorities and representatives of the Group of Party Writers. Negotiators representing the Main Board were not inclined either to provide any guarantees as to the fulfillment of their program or to take a stand on the position taken by the forum of party writers at its conference on 25 February 1983. They demanded a fast and unconditional reactivation of the union, normalization of service activity and a transfer of social and foreign agencies back to the union from the Ministry of Culture and Art. In return, they declared that the issue of the future character of this organization could only emerge after its complete reactivization.

The representatives of the Group of Party Writers as well as the Department of Culture of the PZPR Central Committee stressed during the talks that re-activization of the ZLP would only be possible after the Main Board undertook a self-appraisal of its activities, because it was exactly this leadership group which caused the union to be suspended due to the group's involvements. The rectification of all circumstances which could cause further political deviations in the ZLP is a necessity and, therefore, so are the opinions of these activities from the members of the Main Board and the union, who have and are violating the sociopolitical order of People's Poland, and an assumption of responsibility for the activities in preparation to the future congress in a way such as to make it possible in the course of the

congress to reconstruct union authorities and ensure their coalition character, reflecting the political and worldview diversity of the union membership. Thus, not only the composition of the Congress Commission should be a subject of negotiations, but also the draft resolutions, changes in the statute and declarations of the union, defining its activity in the socialist sociopolitical conditions of the country.

The future congress must receive meaningful directional signs from the Main Board as to the future of the union and it must be offered a profound analysis of the reasons for the crisis in the union organization. These matters should be taken up by the Main Board at its first meeting. It must pass appropriate resolutions in this regard, in order to remove the reasons for tension and collisions inside the organization and in the field of contracts with the authorities.

During a successive round of talks, Jan Jozef Szczepanski and other ZLP negotiators declared that they did not see an opportunity for compromise, because the suggested platform for the discussion limited intra-union democracy and plurality of views of the membership which, in their opinion, covered also the cooperation of emigré publishing houses and western radio stations.

Suggestions to work out a joint position in the way of talks were treated as an assault on intra-union democracy. The Main Board representatives did not want to visualize the future of the ZLP in the context of political changes in our country and did not want to come out explicitly in favor of such behavior by the association which would block a renewal of tensions and political collisions. They considered it impossible even to express an opinion on their own activity. Quite the opposite--in the pronouncement by Jan Jozef Szczepanski--they recognized the situation of various political options to be a permanent element of the union's activity in a country where political opposition is not legalized. As Andrzej Braun stated, the social existence of the writer and literature does not preclude the opportunities for setting up unofficial literary circulation.

#### Prospects for Rebirth

The talks did not bring about compromise solutions; in the attitudes of the representatives of the Main Board, no signs of good will and desire to rescue the union could be found despite verbal assurances. Suggestions were rejected with reference to technical considerations and the situation was brought about where the laws in effect in Poland made only one way out possible, namely, the dissolution of the ZLP.

The dissolution of the ZLP does not amount to a blow to the entirety and unity of Polish culture, as the authors of the appeal write. Quite the opposite; the decision on the dissolution affects only what is sick and harmful. The dissolution of the union is accompanied by a widely supported initiative to revitalize a writers' organization in a new format, as a genuine representation of the writers' interests, fully taking into account the diversity of worldview in the community and without ascribing to any group the right to monopolize power. The dissolution of the union is a disaster for a segment

of, rather than the entire, writers' organization. The writers' organization is being reborn, counting on the support of all who care for the good of literature. Everyone who desires to work for the good and in behalf of the community, for the return and strengthening of all that serves well the writers and literature, is invited to join in common action.

9761

CSO: 2600/1330

RELATIONS BETWEEN ARMY, CIVILIAN POPULATION PROBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11 Jul 83 p.4

[Interview with Henry Bednarski, first secretary of the KW PZPR in Bydgoszcz, by Roman Przeciszewski]

[Text] [Question] We agreed on a talk about the army, a talk, let me add, divested of polite formulas and of the routine generalizations most often encountered on such occasions.

[Answer] In truth, anniversaries promote glib speech, but probably it is worth departing from that. After all, nowadays we all like hard facts and a concrete talk about the army will be better than just a repetition of several generalizations suited to the occasion.

[Question] A few months ago, in describing the society of the province, you stated in one of your interviews that this society has already changed totally from what it was before August 1980 and that in spite of peace it appraises individual facts and reacts to them differently. Such being the case, has the relation to the army likewise changed? What do you, as first secretary of the KW [Province Committee] and also as a learned man, a sociologist, think about this?

[Answer] Certainly the statement that society is different included also a valuation of the activities of the army, which has its own concrete share in the transformation of the mentality and the attitudes of the people. The army-- I am saying this by no means out of politeness, since I base my arguments on realities--is as if structured into the totality of the province's life. The military participate in political, social, economic and cultural life. And this is by no means a completely passive participation. Society has changed; so too has the army changed.

[Question] But has the relation with the army changed in society simultaneously?

[Answer] Yes, no doubt of that. For until recently the army was received in society most often as a force set apart from it. The soldiers had their defined functions, they trained and kept an eye on martial readiness and on matters of national defense, and what happened in the civilian sector constituted, in the average opinion, a separate, as it were, and also an independent, current.

But after the introduction of martial law the army's participation in general social life has become a most distinct fact for everyone; I often have contact with people in military uniform, I am a member of the Military Council of the Pomeranian Military District. I remember our discussions of several years ago and in comparison to those we have now, I see essential differences. Generally these are now conversations in which matters of defense are only one of several elements. These discussions also include citizens, who feel completely responsible for the decisions undertaken and for their realization. Today therefore the slogan "the army with the people" or also "the army face to face with society" functions on different lines and has a deeper semantic value. One can unmistakably say that the army has extended widely beyond its traditional functions and that this has had a positive meaning for our lives.

[Question] There are those, however, who say that the army is not minding its own business, that it is concerning itself unnecessarily with problems of the economy or, for example, of the administration.

[Answer] I think that such feelings arose and arise in those circles, environments, institutions or elements of power whose employees are not always able to discharge their functions competently. In the instance of our province, I can declare with full responsibility that there were no such problems as, who is more important here? who should be in charge? whose decision is more essential? For it was understood that the army would help but not encroach on others' powers. Thus everyone also knew what his duty was and there were no conflicts. Most often the army carried out "deeper reconnaissance" and provided material which the authorities converted into an actual program of operations. The coordination of certain matters, the formulation of appraisals proceeds through the channel of the Provincial Committee of Defense. So that the people in uniform came to help and did not replace or supersede the authorities.

[Question] But let us not conceal that it happens that the army became identical with the authorities.

[Answer] Why, that is simply a completely unfair view. One can say that the people's army is a very good helper and ally for a government realizing socialist ideals. It is also clear that, called to national defense, the army in a particular situation has taken on additional functions. But I emphasize once more that these functions are not synonymous with substituting for the authorities. The helping role of the army depends on--among other things--a more profound discernment of problems, often on a suggestion of methods for their solution. But the authorities have their own designated duties and are obliged to carry them out normally. I see no contradiction here, since the aim of the activity is one, common.

[Question] A local skeptic would, however, find a counterargument. The chairman of the People's Provincial Council in Bydgoszcz is, after all, a military man--General Kaminski. Similarly the first secretary of the Town Committee of the PZPR in Inowroclaw--Major Olszewski.

[Answer] But who would claim that this is the result of martial law? General Kaminski, who was the actively operating councillor of the People's Provincial Council, was elected its chairman immediately after the memorable "Bydgoszcz incidents" of March 1981, when none of us yet supposed that the army would

indeed take on the main burden of fulfilling the duties arising from martial law. The councillors unanimously entrusted General Kaminski with the chairmanship--an act which is evidence of confidence in someone in uniform. It was much the same, besides, in the other garrison. The major was an active member of a local party organization, where he participated in the life of the town and became known. And he became secretary at the time of the reporters'-electoral action, that is to say, not long before 13 December.

Moreover, one cannot cite these cases as something exceptional. Before martial law, after all, General Kondaz became a member of the executive power of our KW, and three other comrades in uniform became members of the KW. This was the result of a natural process, of the natural inclination of society, which in the period of the recent upheaval sought support from people connected with the army, believed that precisely those people would begin at last to create order and to lead to stabilization. Evidence of this is found in the examples above. And one more thing: the presence of the army in the life of the region was always visible from a good many years back and was, at the same time, a normal phenomenon which could hardly astonish anyone.

[Question] Does this spring from the fact that the seat of the Pomeranian Military District is located precisely in Bydgoszcz, and that naturally soldiers of the garrison could not remain indifferent face to face with everyday problems?

[Answer] I do not conceal that the army leaves a strong mark on the life, on the tone of the town and province. To tell the truth, it would be hard to imagine Bydgoszcz without the seat of the district. For what does the Pomeranian Military District mean? For us in this building where we are speaking, for us members of the party, there immediately come to mind political officers, professionals of a high standing, and simultaneously specialists from many spheres, without whom it would be far harder to carry on instructional work in the PZPR. But others would probably emphasize the army's influence on the totality of the political, social and economic life, and also the culture-forming role of the district. Thus one can say that actually we live the same life, with the same problems, and we deliberate together on how to eliminate them. By now this is, in a sense, a tradition.

[Question] Missing from our talk, comrade Secretary, is any adverse criticism. In general isn't there some criticism to be made?

[Answer] If one looks at the matter impartially, no criticism emerges. At one time there still used to occur small-scale conflicts between military youth and civilian youth, one might hear of a particular military subculture, but now all this already belongs generally to the forgotten past. Now the one matter, for example, which might eventually arouse anxieties in our province is the potential flow of medical staff into the military health service. Presently a provincial hospital is under construction in Bydgoszcz, and a district hospital too, which could create competition in the matter of acquiring doctors--specialists. On the other hand, let us, however, realize also that the military health service is not hermetically closed off and will be built within a general structure of the health service facilities. This is how it has been, after all, until now. And certainly military doctors will in the future be coming with professional aid into the civilian environment.



[Question] Let us then put the issue more drastically, as it sometimes operates in the people's consciousness: What are the relations between what the army takes and what it offers?

[Answer] I must admit that suspicions are circulating here and there that the army takes a lot from the market and that therefore its staff has special privileges and can obtain everything. The absurdity of such assertions surely does not require explanation. They are simply fake. The reality is different, contrary: the army takes little and gives much more. It tries to be self-sufficient, only minimally dependent on the local market. Hence comes the army's animal-breeding, and also the barracks economy, from whose example even those could profit who regard themselves as good managers. Furthermore, the army, after all, teaches the young--that is, the soldiers, who will return to life in the civilian sector--discipline, good management and various principles; it helps them to attain competence. The army likewise shares technical ideas with a good many institutions, as for instance, with our Eltra, and in critical situations it furnishes assistance in material and in manpower. Likewise, one must not forget about its always noteworthy assistance in agriculture, in the building of bridges or improved housing, for which we would sometimes have to wait long years yet if it were not for the military.

[Question] When one speaks of such military assistance, the question also arises of how much it costs the provincial authorities. Generally, is this assistance worthwhile in the days of reform?

[Answer] In truth, a great many forms of this assistance are totally free. While training, the soldiers simultaneously perform jobs beneficial to us. Here let us mention the building of bridges and roads, the inspection of farming equipment, and also the already mentioned help from the military health service, which has considerable significance particularly for the town of Bydgoszcz. It is true, also, that sometimes payments are necessary. But at the same time one must consider too that nobody forces the assistance on the management of institutions and that the management makes the decision to turn to the army after a calculation of risks and costs. It is always the case that without military assistance, losses would unquestionably be considerable.

[Question] All the same, what would it be appropriate to change in the cooperation between the army and civilians?

[Answer] Certainly it would be a mistake if the army were now, by a single order, totally withdrawn to its barracks. This withdrawal has to be a process spread out over some time. Besides, I cannot imagine that after all these experiences of the past period the army would be the same as previously. What would it be appropriate to change? To me it seems necessary to introduce a principle of permanence into certain associations, into cooperation between, for example, a given institution and a given unit. It is simply a question of making this cooperation continuous, not just occasional, and of having it thereby yield a significantly greater effect. I think that we will be deliberating this subject together with the command of the Pomeranian Military District.

[Question] Let us return to the idea at the beginning of our talk. Society is different, but the question arises, are the authorities different? Have they

adjusted themselves to the needs of the people and the time? Have they taken any methods and forms of work from the army?

[Answer] Certainly we try to keep pace with the needs of social life. Society has changed, but so has the party; party channels, party methods of operation are different. Typical of its style of action are great exposure to social problems, presence in the midst of the people, knowledge of the people's weak points and swift reaction to a grievance. No issues are alien to us, we wish to be wherever problems exist or are arising. That is the reason for the traveling sessions of the executive power or of the secretariat of the KW PZPR, coupled with visits to institutions, talks at work places; that is the reason for participation in the meetings of the fundamental party organizations. Is it only by accident that nowadays one does not speak of the alienation of management from the party base, of a division into "top" and "bottom"? The national administration likewise adopts a similar style of action. Consequently much has changed now--which, however, does not mean that one can be pleased with everything.

Another matter: the army's role in this process. Certainly in the past we were involved in a classic reciprocal union, inasmuch as the exchange of experiences was mutual. But what have we received? Undoubtedly the swift reconnoitering of situations, the processing of data for the program of operation and, next, the control of the program's realization, and so everything which fits the notion, broadly defined, of "staff work." Many people certainly have also taken on a military conscientiousness and sense of responsibility. Perhaps that is why right now we have significantly more ready answers than questions.

[Question] Thank you very much for our talk.

12460

CSO: 2600/1289

## HEALTH UNITS' FAMILY COUNSELING PROGRAMS DISCUSSED

Bucharest MUNCITORUL SANITAR in Romanian 11 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Dan Lazarescu: "Education Pro Familia"]

[Text] For a year now a collective of the Health Education Laboratory in the IISP [Institute for Hygiene and Public Health], jointly with teachers in the Department of Social Medicine of the Bucharest IMF [Institute for Medicine and Pharmacy] and with the aid of teachers and physicians in other localities, have been questioning 1,933 persons (907 men and 1,026 women), including high-school pupils, students, young marrieds or "experienced" ones, and couples who have or have not consulted the premarital counseling offices, in addition to 260 representatives of nonmedical organizations (lawyers, high-school teachers, administrators or persons with responsibilities in the public organizations) and 141 physicians (primarily obstetricians and pediatricians). Moreover the records of 432 women (pregnant, in confinement and others suffering from various gynecological ailments) and 106 problem children were studied in various health units in Bucharest and throughout the country. The extensive Study of the Activity and Functions of the Offices Under the County Polyclinic Health Center for Premarital and Family Counseling, which we discuss below, was based on the opinions of the 2,334 respondents to the researchers' questions and on the findings from the 538 records. The following helped to prepare the study: Drs T. Huszar (head of the collective), Luminita Dragomir, V. Miu and Eugenia Hotnog, psychologists Lavinia Belea, Irina Anghelescu and E. Pirvu, Sociologist Lilia Rotaru, and Economist Margareta Matei, as well as Ileana Viciu, Sabina Badea, Nita Dragulin and Silvia Belmega (all of IISP), Univ Reader Dr Zoe Patiu and Drs Maria Gaspar, C. Scurtu, E. Pesteanu and N. Boldi-Pop (Cluj-Napoca), Dr Eva Stoica (Miercurea Ciuc), and Drs I. Bonescu, Viorica Coteata, Gh. Popescu, Elena Melinte, Ioana Manut and I. Georgescu (Bucharest).

In speaking of the extensive problems that were also the subject of the above-mentioned study, Prof Dr Dan Enachescu, chief of the discipline of social medicine and dean of the Bucharest IMF Department of General Medicine, told us that as in other fields, in population reproduction too we are seeing a constantly changing phenomenon. The changes are due to biological and social factors, and the latter are the most dynamic and the first to affect the state of health and especially the demographic evolution. Accordingly the slight reduction of the

birth rate accompanied by a stable death rate are resulting in a somewhat declining trend in the natural population growth.

The birth rate and reproduction of the population are going on within Romania's socialist society, which is also constantly changing. This dynamism naturally affects the structure and functions of the family as well. Moreover the family has evolved throughout history against the background of biological and social factors. In this case too social progress brings about a number of changes: The traditional family structure evolves, the roles and social status of men and women are modified, and reproductive behavior also changes, just as the hierarchy of values, needs and requirements of the family change, etc. Society has instituted a number of social and medical services in support of the family, such as allowances for children, prenatal and postnatal leaves, creches, kindergartens, health protection etc. The PCR Program devotes a whole chapter to demographic policy, specifying the high priority on child health, stimulation of the birth rate, and extensive aid to families with many children. To this end there are a number of strategic measures that will not only increase the number of children but also secure the product quality of conception and the quality of life in the social environment liberally provided by Romanian society. Among these measures I would mention those designed to combat sterility and infertility, to prevent complications caused by gynecological ailments, and to combat abortions which, among other things, can also cause secondary sterility. Then young families must be convinced that it is necessary to have children, as one of the main missions of the family, and that the early appearance of the first child makes it more probable that its health will be better. It is also a good thing, in encouraging couples' desire to have children, to emphasize the age groups wherein the frequency of live births and the quality of the conception product are at their highest. I refer in particular to women of 20-24 and 25-29 years, upon whom physicians and health propagandists should concentrate because the fertility characteristic of those age groups is 2 or 3 times greater than the general fertility. And of course in addition to all these measures there are those to protect the mother, the child and the entire family, as well those to lend proper aid in childbirth, to avoid obstetrical risks, etc. Therefore the prenuptial examination must not be cursory but must take the form of an effective premarital consultation including the social as well as the medical aspects, to be continued even after the family has been founded if appropriate.

Dr Toma Huszar, projects chief in the Department of Social Medicine, said to us that "Our study is based on the idea that the formation and development of the family involve far-reaching medical-social problems. Since the family is a social phenomenon, we felt that it could be investigated only in the context of the society to which it belongs. And in view of the natural changes taking place in the family structure and relations as a result of the progress of society, material civilization and culture, we did not overlook the family traditions in Romania that honor its past and present. Note, among other things, that sociologists have called the traditional Romanian family an "offshoot" type of family, because it actually gave rise to other families, like offshoots.

"I should mention here that some of the results of the survey on the factors affecting the stability of the family are encouraging. A large sampling was taken of married workers of various occupations and ages in enterprises in Bucharest, Ploiesti and Buzau, and most of the respondents replied that the home was based

upon love. Moreover most of the replies (61 percent) indicated that the partners had been well acquainted with their future spouses, showing that they were trying to avoid any possible conflicts caused by incompatibility of character. This survey revealed that children are an essential factor for family stability, an opinion that was shared by 92 percent of the respondents.

"But one idea that emerged from the first investigations is that education for a family must begin at an early age. The man must be viewed as a future parent from childhood on. Of course this gives rise to a number of questions: Are Romanian youths prepared to start a family? Do they have the necessary knowledge to lead a healthy family life, from knowledge of sexual relations to that of child-rearing and involvement in domestic affairs? Who is or should be engaged in this education? ... In general the youths (pupils and students) in the research sampling showed very little understanding of the importance of such major questions as sex life and the family. That is a fact that shows the lack of interest, in the educational system, in persevering application of the health education programs and in preparing children and youths for family life, as well as a certain tendency on their part to postpone their efforts in connection with an event that is considered rather remote. This probably gives rise to an ill-considered, haphazard attitude on the part of some youths toward such major questions as their choice of a life's partner and establishing their home. Both these unmarried youths and many of those who had started families said that they acquired knowledge (what little they had) about sex life and hygiene, the danger of venereal diseases or abortions, etc. primarily by chance from their friends and elders or sometimes from literature, while very few said they acquired it from physicians or in school. These results were more or less confirmed by the replies of the surveyed physicians: 56 percent of them considered youths' preparation for family life inadequate, and 42 percent called youths' sex education unsatisfactory. The teachers feel much the same way, and 97 percent of the jurists we questioned replied that the lack of proper education of youths is the first cause of the family misunderstandings that may end in divorce. A main conclusion from this is that family education should be a continuing effort of a series of elements, primarily of the family-school-physician trio but also of others such as the mass media, public organizations, etc. The following forms of education were suggested (in the respondents' order): school education, books, films, conferences, individual consultations and conversations, 'married youths' schools' (premarital and family counseling), free discussions and roundtables, interdisciplinary consultations, radio and TV broadcasts and articles in the press, family education, Red Cross programs, and posters."

In connection with the findings from this part of the study our informant went on to say, "The collective investigated the effectiveness of the premarital and family counseling offices thoroughly, wherever they exist. We first addressed ourselves to the one operating under Cluj-Napoca Obstetrical and Gynecological Clinic No 2 (The activity of this office has also been described in our periodical for 28 May 1983 -- Editor's Note), taking two samplings, one for research (women with records in the premarital counseling office or sterility prevention office under the same clinic) and another for control (persons who had had no premarital consultations). Most of the young women with prenuptial records had had, in addition to a number of medical consultations, counseling on sexual hygiene, pregnancy and reproduction, dangers of abortion and venereal diseases,

infant care, and psycho-emotional family behavior. It is interesting to note that although 2 or 3 years have passed, most of the young married women remember this advice and are following it, while the young women who had had no prenuptial consultations showed a much more limited knowledge of all these subjects. Moreover the young women in the research sampling are more interested in child care and in creating a favorable psycho-emotional atmosphere in their families. But perhaps the beneficial effect of the premarital consultations is most strikingly illustrated by the replies to the question whether or not the advice they received had benefited their family life: 80 percent of the women replied in the affirmative!

\*As it is still given in most cases, the prenuptial consultation is limited to issuing a certificate, after which the future spouses are examined for venereal diseases, tuberculosis and neuropsychic disorders. The clinical examination is cursory and the special genital and sexual examination is almost always omitted. The need of instituting a more comprehensive system of premarital consultations is also clear from the survey we made of the development of pathology of pregnancy according to the two samplings of young married women in Cluj-Napoca. The fact that the women had learned of the warning signs of some gynecopathies in the course of consultations at the premarital counseling office made the gynecological consulting room more accessible to the research sampling. Furthermore the health of more of the women with postmarital ailments improved in the research sampling than in the control sampling (Over 10 percent of the former group were cured by medical treatment, while not one cure was recorded in the other group). The fact is also noteworthy that the sampling of those who benefited by premarital counseling is three times more fertile than the control sampling, and the number of miscarriages in the latter is far greater (66.7 percent) than in the former (18.5 percent). This leads to the conclusion that the state of health of the women and mothers who had premarital counseling is better than that of the others, although we found that there still is an educational deficiency on matters of sexology (but far more pronounced in the control sampling).

"Our team also studied the premarital or family counseling services' results in about 10 other cities. In some urban localities (Oradea, Blaj, Arad, Timisoara, Craiova and Resita) more complete medical examinations were arranged, including gynecological investigation of the woman and even an andrological examination (Cluj-Napoca and Oradea) or psychiatric consultation (Miercurea Ciuc). Some centers (Bucharest, Iasi, Resita, Arad, Tirgu-Mures, Timisoara, Cluj-Napoca and Craiova) are placing more and more emphasis upon detection, investigation and control of sterility. Miercurea Ciuc is the only place where we found any particular efforts or programs to check the effectiveness of premarital counseling up to 1 year after marriage. Genetic consultations are given in some cities (Bucharest, Tirgu-Mures, Iasi and Cluj-Napoca), and in some localities (Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Tirgu-Mures, Miercurea Ciuc and Iasi) more extensive sexual and family education is provided in schools, faculties and enterprises with the aid of specialized physicians and some jurists, sociologists and psychologists. The Cluj-Napoca Infantile Gynecology Office (and to some extent those in Bucharest, Craiova and Iasi as well) is doing meritorious work on prevention of sterility in future mothers and sexual education of adolescents.

\*All these premarital services are showing some results, but they have not progressed beyond the pilot stage or that of local initiatives. This is because

there is not yet any uniform methodology for the efficient operation of premari-  
tal and family counseling.

\*Of course we could not discuss here, even briefly, all the problems taken up in the IISP's study, which brings out the greater contribution physicians can make to the qualitative success of the conception product, the child and the future man, and also to the consolidation of the family and its physical and moral health. The conclusions and suggestions that follow from this extensive study largely largely recur in a plan of organization and operation of the family counseling service, from which we select some ideas:

- It is recommended that the Family Counseling Service shall be a family medical-social aid unit that could operate as an independent unit under the County Health Directorate and the County Commission on Demography or as a service of the County Polyclinic Health Center within the existing structure, like the Health Education Laboratory, for example.

- The Family Counseling Service could have the following consulting rooms: pre-nuptial, gynecological, endocrinological, psychiatric and those for infantile gynecology, cytological examinations and genetic counseling, psychology and social aid, and health and sex education and family planning, and later a clinical laboratory, X-ray service (MRF) etc, which will collaborate efficiently with each other.

- Permanent consultations within the service would be provided by qualified medical personnel and intermediate personnel.

The main functions of the Family Counseling Service would include, among others:

- Complete prenuptial medical control (general medical, gynecological, andrological, psychiatric, MRF, RBW [expansion unknown] and other examinations). The medical problems detected on this occasion may result in referral of the patient to the respective medical service.

- Social-psychological examination of young marrieds followed by family counseling, which will include the rudiments of reproductive anatomy and physiology, sex education, dangers of abortion etc., as well as domestic counseling (home hygiene and rational nutrition);

- Medical control of the couple after 6 months and 1 year of marriage and measures to combat sterility if necessary;

- Methodological guidance of medical-social supervision of children and youths and of the work of the physicians in schools or in the regional health centers responsible for schools;

- Sex education of youth by school or enterprise physicians, high-school teachers, UTC [Union of Communist Youth] and trade union organizations etc., under the technical guidance of the Family Counseling Service;

- Methodological guidance of effective medical supervision of pregnant women and infants and appropriate treatment of pathological or high-risk cases;

- Effective medical-social supervision of newlyweds (home visits and consultations, advice on family, medical and social problems, etc.);
- Prevention of divorce by family counseling;
- Preparation and publication of educational materials for young marrieds and adolescents and also for physicians engaged in sex education.

Among the other suggestions made by the respondents we note the following:

- Every family should have a medical record;
- Organization of a special "school for young marrieds";
- Establishment of legal consulting rooms under the legal status offices (or in the big polyclinics, under the Family Counseling Service);
- Marriage should be with the parents' knowledge and consent, observing that constructive tradition of the Romanian people."

Accordingly the foregoing study indicates that education for the family should be a constant concern of a series of elements, among which the schools, families, public organizations and especially the youth ones, medical institutions, various nonmedical institutions, the press, publishing houses, radio and TV should combine their efforts to help create healthy and lasting families from which Romania's new generations shall grow.

5186

CSO: 2700/308



## CAUSES OF DISSENT IN CROATIAN LC DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 83 pp 38-39

[Article by Mladen Maloca: "Crisis of Opinion or Crisis of the Party: How Our Marxists See the League of Communists in the Context of the Social Crisis"]

[Text] In this time of ever more pronounced signs of crisis, there are quite a few people asking themselves: What is happening with the League of Communists? The extremes in this discussion are expressed by the questions: Has the League of Communists dropped the reins from its hands and become instead of the leading ideological force a faceless mass on whose surfaces diverse ideological tendencies break out spontaneously, tendencies which it is ever more difficult to enumerate and recognize, much less suppress them? Or has the League of Communists nevertheless remained all-powerful and untouchable and has thus transformed itself into the party at fault for the ever more pronounced feebleness of society?

These and similar questions have multiplied in recent months like mushrooms after a rain, and we have heard them from numerous rostrums and have read them in countless interviews, journals, and theoretical writings. The summer lull should, it seems, be taken more as a kind of a time out, a break in which the forces renew themselves and the polemical pens are sharpened. After all, judging by the ferocity and passions which were so noticeable in the confrontations so far, it is difficult to believe that this topic, which is more than important for all of us, has been altogether discharged. The most recent issue of NASE TEME takes us back to the very center of these theoretical, and still more political, confrontations concerning the place and role of the League of Communists in these times, which are by no means easy. Having decided to publish the discussions which took place at the Center for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Croatian LC Central Committee on the topic "The LCY Today: The Essence of the Vanguard," the editors also offered an occasion to a broad range of readers to familiarize themselves with some reflections of distinguished public and political figures concerning the party today. Even the most superficial leafing through several of the selected discussions refutes the thesis that there is no critical talk about the party within the League of Communists and that the criticism is mainly and most frequently coming from nonparty ranks or from oppositionist forces. This certainly immediately raises the question of whether a kind of

ideological pluralism has been legalized within the confines of the party? Or is it perhaps still a question of the democratic practice of the League of Communists, which calls for clear views and commitments to be arrived at through open and critical exchange of opinions?

### The People With Power

Speaking about the existence of ideological pluralism in the League of Communists, Milivoj Oreb says that it existed even earlier. However, he says, something has after all changed. Previously the ideological pluralism was disguised. Differing and indeed even opposed ideas coexisted quietly under the cloak of formal ideological unity. What is new today is that the ideological pluralism is manifested much more openly as ideological criticism of self-management, with all the exclusiveness that is typical of views from opposing ideological standpoints. The problem here, Oreb feels, is certainly that these views do not come solely from the other side of the ideological and political front, nor even exclusively from those who are uninformed, but well-intentioned, but also from certain members of the League of Communists and from informal groups in the League of Communists which have appropriated significant social power in various spheres of social life and by and large on the basis of that power have won social prestige. But perhaps the real gist of the problem does not lie even there. It should be sought in the cases of powerlessness of the primary organizations and, by all appearances, also of leadership bodies in the League of Communists with respect to these powerful people who are their own members when it comes to opposing them, indeed even if they distance themselves from them in ideological and political terms. A survey of this phenomenon, Oreb adds, would perhaps show that the League of Communists is not [sic] suffering more harm from this, its own informal opposition, than from the external opposition.

Ivo Druzijanic also complained of the people with power who are holding back critical discussion of the League of Communists. According to him, the truth is that certain party officials have expressed harsh assessments of the situation in the LC, but the rank and file has restrained from speaking about the true causes of this situation. This has been prevented, Druzijanic mentions, by the officials and bureaucrats who are bothered more by frank communist speech than by the ideological and political assaults on the LCY. By delivering raps on the knuckles and by pinning on labels they have smothered the militant speech of communists and have spread the field of opportunism in which they feel less threatened and more powerful.

### Reductionism

Dr Ivan Peric warned of the occurrence of factionalism in the League of Communists in an extensive explication. The formation of factions today, Peric notes, signifies a phenomenon which is against the bylaws, but does actually exist. This tendency is operative throughout the League of Communists from the primary organizations on up. Yet when it comes to the activity of the League of Communists within the political system, then Dr Peric indicates a kind of tendency toward reductionism which is also characteristic of other sociopolitical organizations, and he cites the example of organizations of

the Socialist Alliance, in which party members predominate, but the rank and file has not become active. Insofar as this tendency is operative, then nominally there exist mass organizations in society, but in reality they are not massive, but restricted. The masses of the population remain outside them and are becoming involved or may become involved in different flows of social life controlled by other ideological forces, while the League of Communists, that is, members of the party, remain outside those flows. Yet another remark by Dr Ivan Peric concerning the swelling of various ideological tendencies. Perhaps the cause of their escalation, he feels, lies precisely in the absence of a timely dialogue on the part of the League of Communists from the very outset of the expression of differing conceptions and tendencies concerning society and its values and orientation. Instead of an ongoing dialogue, polemics, and critical assessment of phenomena, reaction has taken the form of a campaign from positions of government power.

Certainly the polemical speeches of Slobodan Inic and Dr Stipe Suvar drew the greatest attention in this discussion. Even earlier Inic had not only aroused attention with his views and examinations of the place and role of the party in the development of self-management, but indeed had caused an outright conflagration of polemical confrontations, and it has been possible to follow a portion of those bitter polemics in the pages of DANAS. Slobodan Inic obviously was not discouraged by certain harsh suggestions made to him in the past concerning the content of his arguments concerning the League of Communists, so that again in this discussion he presented his views in his own frank way. He divided his remarks into two parts, but still it could not be said that they are not related to one another. The first group of his considerations has to do with the present model of the communist party in general. His general hypothesis is that this model from the past and from the glorious fighting tradition has come into a certain crisis, and therefore insofar as an organization of communists contains and retains today recurrences of the "general model" of the communist party from the past, to that extent it is almost regularly subject to a crisis of its own internal structure and especially to a crisis of its ability to influence society in a manner that is up-to-date.

#### A Supernumerary Existence

Moving onto "home ground," Inic puts the following question: To what extent has the League of Communists lost some of its historical ability because of its operating with the methods of government power? In seeking for answers Inic notes that the present method of operation of the LC could come into collision with self-management. But, he adds, without the party it is not possible to go further in the development of socialism, but it will hardly be possible to win new victories with the present organization. That kind of organization, that is, does not motivate people, nor does it evoke their activity. This leads to the conclusion that ahead of the League of Communists as the reformer of our society there also lies a reform of its own structures, its role and its method of operation. In this connection reaffirmation of the role of party members is a most important task, but it is possible only "if we conceive our operation in the light of the historical and social tasks of the present time. The model of the communist we need now is a creator

from the fields of culture, labor and science, to the economy, people able to get things moving in the context of stabilization."

Within the party it would be worthwhile to get beyond the supernumerary position of the rank and file, which is mobilized when necessary. "Getting beyond this situation means linking the party to the sole body in which the leadership has no privilege whatsoever, and the membership is vigorously present from the bottom to the top." Inic holds that invigoration of the forces within the League of Communists presupposes a situation of free expression in party life, and he goes on to conclude:

"It seems that the present inactivity of the League of Communists and the passivity of its rank and file have been produced by the crisis concerning the present role of the LC, the manner of performing that role, and the methods which are operative. Precisely as a result of the party's evolution, which ends up more in government power than in a movement and as a movement. When that occurs, then people and their activity are no longer important. They are replaced by staffs, forums and leadership bodies. What I want to say is that the passivity of the rank and file is a consequence of the development of the League of Communists in the form of a leadership. Actually the present position of the leadership would correspond to the 'glitter' of the former cadre party, while the role of sympathizers has fallen to the rank and file."

#### A Feeling of Helplessness

Dr Stipe Suvar, obviously touched by Inic's theses, asked for the floor, immediately warning that within the League of Communists the feeling of its own helplessness and paralysis has grown to very dangerous proportions and that this is perhaps the most destructive factor within it today. In this connection it was his assessment that we confront a flood of criticism that is mostly impressionistic, impressions are more and more being presented in which university people are in the forefront, people who at the same time make the most references to science and who participate in the most round-table discussions. Many of these people take as their point of departure their own conviction that the socialist revolution in our country has either fallen irretrievably into an abyss, or is on the edge of it. This style of thought goes so far as to assert that that socialism which was born out of the October Revolution has proven itself to be a historic failure. What is interesting is that in the reflections of these domestic critics of ours our own socialism is not distinguished from that general fate of socialism inspired by October, as though not the smallest step had been taken in other directions of development. Turning to the reflections on the League of Communists, Suvar recalls that we are encountering arguments about the "League of Communists as a hopeless party of power or in power, of a party of the bureaucracy rather than of the working class. And that this is what has removed it from the scene of history. The League of Communists is committing violence on history and will descend from the social stage through its own fault." Public trials of the party of the most widely differing inspiration are becoming more frequent, Suvar says, and he asks: And what is offered? We are offered, for example, an alliance of the revolutionary working class

with the scientocracy, the thesis is offered that we should redefine strategic goals, the demand is made for absolute freedom of expression.... No, Suvar replies, our problem is not that we do not have absolute freedom of expression, but perhaps it is a much greater problem that the LC has become like a huge cage of monkeys (brbljaonica) in which people are truly saying all sorts of things. Suvar reproached the critics of the party for not offering clear answers to the question of who should replace the League of Communists? Inic's argument is an honest one to the extent that he develops the thesis that the party is historically necessary. It just must be different, it must reject its "CP" nature. "And I say that it is that 'CP feature' that under the new conditions is one of the backbones of its existence and its rationale and that it should preserve that historic core. After all, it did not originally develop as a Stalinist party," Suvar emphasized. Seeking possible answers to the questions about the place and role of the League of Communists under present conditions, Suvar pointed to the decisiveness of the connections between the party and social development and the connections between the party and the class. "It is not the League of Communists that has come into collision with the development of self-management, but rather that it is not successful at this point in leading the battle for the real thing in the development of self-management--and that is that the producers take possession of the accumulation. This is the obstruction in our social development, and for the moment the League of Communists has been unsuccessful in its practical politics. It must seek its catharsis solely in removing that obstruction, and not in abandoning its vision and redefining its strategic goals," Dr Stipe Suvar concludes.

#### Labels

Slobodan Inic, however, did not feel that that ended the discussion, noting that "he pays homage to any time in which differences are possible." He is concerned by the fact that today we are more involved in criticism of the type "who says what," rather than "what is to be done" in the social situation which is by no means a splendid one. Nor did Inic agree with the assessment that we are witnesses of "public trials of the party." He says: "I view such conversations as an intellectual and political effort to conceptualize and develop the League of Communists even at the price of being critical toward it. This is a battle of ideas and opinions, which is in fact a programmatic demand and position of the League of Communists."

These polemical sparks brought to an end the selection which NASE TEME published from the discussion in the Center for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Croatian LC Central Committee. In conclusion we would recall also the words of Dr Ivan Peric, who on that occasion said that the communists who were defending the values of socialism in the argument were often looked upon with suspicion and deprecation.

"In their writings," Peric said, "one finds overtones of diamat [dialectical materialism] and Stalinism. Stalinism is a label which in our country is very quickly pasted on anyone who advocates a more definite formulation of the values of socialism and the ways of achieving it, who supports an ideological delimitation with the antisocialist forces and tendencies. This

label is abundantly issued by intellectuals who operate from the positions of bourgeois liberalism, but usually in a Marxist wrapper. Unfortunately, even party members resort to this irresponsibly and unthinkingly with respect to their own comrades who become involved in the debate, while the opposing side is left in peace, which actually only helps it."

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MILOVAN DJILAS DISCUSSES YUGOSLAV, INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 2 Sep 83 p 10

[Interview with Milovan Djilas in Belgrade by Adelbert Reif: "The Illusions of the Pacifists. Only If the West Is Stronger Than the Soviet Union Can Peace Be Preserved on a Permanent Basis"; date not specified]

[Text] Next week the last volume of the memoirs of the critic of communist ideology and old Tito-associate will be presented in Bonn.

RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT: Mr. Djilas, for more than three decades Marshall Tito determined and controlled all decisive phases of the political and social development of Yugoslavia. In your volume of memoirs, "Years of Power", now published, you describe convincingly how much the autocratic political style cultivated by Tito more and more removed his person into the realm of mysticism before the public. In the meantime, several years have passed since the death of Tito. Does Yugoslavia, in your opinion, find itself at the beginning of a demystification of the historical figure of Tito and thus the Tito era?

Milovan Djilas: One of the weaknesses of the current Yugoslav leadership lies in the fact that it still attempts to continue the cult of Tito. It does not permit public criticism of Tito. Nobody dares to say that Tito made mistakes or that the whole system he created is wrong. In political reality, however, this system is weak, and not because the opposition would be strong and would not tolerate an efficient system of government, but rather because the autocratic system established by Tito, if it is retained, blocks every point of departure for a positive development. Without the Tito cult, Yugoslavia could be much more advanced politically and economically than is presently the case.

[Question] In 1962 Manes Sperber wrote in an essay about you: "In the year 1948 as well as in the year 1953, in the year 1956 as well as today, the ideology of the leaders of Yugoslavia remains the same: It is an ideology of false identities. For their dictatorship is not that of their party and still less that of the proletariat or the people; in reality we are dealing with an essentially bureaucratic oligarchy, which does not want to relinquish the most trifling particle of its state power and which for this reason does not allow even the smallest grouping to come into being which could aspire for any kind

of autonomy." Is this thesis of the false identities of the communists of Yugoslavia valid now as before?

[Answer] In my view, two erroneous ideas exist in the world about Tito's rule: First, that Tito was a kind of Yugoslav Stalin. That is incorrect. And, second, that he was a good father of the people. That is also incorrect. In reality, Tito was above all an absolute leader of the party with pronounced elements of personal, but not Stalinist power. After his death a substantial change set in: The fact that there is no longer any central figure with autocratic power endowment has strengthened the national bureaucracies in the individual republics of Yugoslavia. Herein also lies one of the reasons for many difficulties with which the country presently has to contend, for the bureaucratic system is highly inefficient.

#### Tito's Official Role Is Being Misrepresented

[Question] Of what historical-political significance is the personality of Tito today for Yugoslavia? To what extent is Tito present in the historical consciousness of the people of Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Without a doubt, Tito has entered the history of Yugoslavia as a strong personality, and he will keep his place in it. Independent of the cult that is carried on around him, his real historical achievements are indisputable: Here I would like merely to recall his role during the Second World War in the struggle to liberate Yugoslavia from fascism and his victory over Stalin in 1948. Even in the economic sphere Tito was able to register successes: That Yugoslavia today is an industrialized country, even if only modestly so, it owes to Tito.

On the other side, of course, a multitude of serious errors can be demonstrated. Alone the fact that he was in power for almost 40 years makes it impossible to push him out of history or out of the historical consciousness of people.

[Question] Even today there exist many irritations or completely wrong conceptions about "Titoism", which you helped shape in a decisive way, or about what is described as the "Yugoslav path". Is it possible, in retrospect, to even talk about a theoretical system of "Titoism"? I mean: Does "Titoism" constitute an original theoretical contribution within socialism?

[Answer] Titoism as an independent socialist theory does not exist. What exists as Titoism is a national communism, which is adapted to local conditions, as this is also the case in Hungary under Kadar, in Rumania under Ceausescu or in Albania under Enver Hoxha. Titoism distinguished itself particularly by the imperial style preferred by Tito, but this is gradually disappearing since the personality is missing which cultivated it.

What is still left from the political content of Titoism today are some practical elements, like the system of the self-administered economy, bound up with components of the market economy--that is something original in Yugoslavia--and, of course, the not very new theory that every country has to follow its own path to socialism. It is above all this consciousness, to preserve and defend the national independence of Titoism, which constitutes Titoism.



[Question] Could you cite some examples of the official falsification of history in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] For one thing, the semi-official depiction of the role of Tito as the greatest military leader in history and strategic genius would simply have to be described as falsification. Tito was generally a good political leader, but he committed many military errors.

Even the role of Tito in the conflict with the Soviet Union is incorrectly presented. Some party historians are now writing that Tito, already before the war, opposed Stalin, when he worked for Comintern in Moscow. That, of course, is completely incorrect. In those days we behaved in a very friendly, very submissively vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Had Tito really opposed Stalin prior to the war, we would not have been able to appoint him as general secretary of our party. This required the assent of Stalin.

As far as my own person is concerned, the scandal sheets are writing the dirtiest things imaginable about me, without my having the opportunity to take a position and defend myself in public. Nevertheless the truth is slowly trickling through. As you know, my books are not allowed to be published in Yugoslavia. But the historians are using them in the different languages to which they happen to have access, which presents a serious problem for the party. Moreover, the English, German and French editions of my books are circulating in the intellectual circles of Yugoslavia, they are simply duplicated.

#### The Policy of Non-Alignment Was Always Unrealistic

[Question] The public in the West knows relatively little about violations of human rights in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, there is an increasing number of reports in which Yugoslavia is accused of the violation of human rights. If you compare the violations of human rights which have occurred for political reasons in Yugoslavia with those of other East European states, would you then say that the situation in your country is still more positive than elsewhere?

[Answer] It all depends on the country with which you compare Yugoslavia. If you compare it with Hungary, then the situation is hardly a different one. But if you compare it with Bulgaria, Rumania or Czechoslovakia, then it is probably better here. On the other hand, measured by the size of the population, there is likely to be hardly any difference in the number of political prisoners between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Which, however, has nothing to do with the fact that in the Soviet Union persecution for religious reasons occurs much more frequently than here.

[Question] Are there any political dangers for Yugoslavia which are discernible after the assumption of power by Andropov--dangers to be taken seriously in the medium-term?

[Answer] No, since the assumption of power by Andropov the danger posed to Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union has neither increased nor decreased. Potentially Yugoslavia is always in danger. But what European country can feel free from Soviet danger after all?

[Question] Among the most outstanding characteristics of Yugoslavia is its "non-alignment", as the champion and determined advocate on the international plane Marshall Tito perceived himself. Would you say that the concept of non-alignment has in the meantime become obsolete?

[Answer] In my view, the policy of non-alignment was unrealistic from the beginning. It was limited to pure declarations. In the meantime, the movement of the non-aligned countries has become the battlefield of Soviet interests and is becoming increasingly inefficient politically; and it makes no difference that some new countries are joining the movement. As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, its interests are tied to Europe and not to those of the non-aligned movement.

[Question] A number of years ago, you spoke rather positively and optimistically about the so-called "Eurocommunism" and described it as "the greatest event in Europe since the Cold War". According to your conception at that time, Eurocommunism contributed substantially to the weakening of the influence of Moscow in Western Europe and also to the strengthening of democratic-oppositional movements in Eastern Europe. But this phenomenon has proved to be very short-lived: Today no one in the West still speaks of Eurocommunism. In what do you see the causes for the collapse of the Eurocommunist idea?

[Answer] I advocate the same view today as I did then. What is Eurocommunism? Eurocommunism is mainly represented by the communist parties of Italy and Spain. The Italians are leading this movement, for their party is strong, while the Spaniards are only a weak partner. Their weakness does not derive from the fact that they are weak communists, but because the socialists are very strong. The stage of the liberation of West European communists from the influence of Moscow is now as before a positive process. This process is also taking place in the French communist party although its leadership is still pro-Soviet.

[Question] Mr. Djilas, in your memoirs you confess that you are not a pacifist and you firmly believe "that wars and revolutions are inevitable. . ." Does this mean that you dispute any fundamental ability of communist totalitarianism in regard to democratic and liberal reforms, so that in the end only wars or revolutions could bring an end to this system?

[Answer] I believe it to be more likely that communism will be destroyed or dissolved through various forms of the demonstration of force than that it will change. I am not a pacifist, not because I am in favor of war, but because I am convinced that pacifism in our situation of today is unrealistic. Western pacifism would make sense if there were a free peace movement in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. But without such a movement in the East and without the presence of an aggressive power in the West, the Western pacifists lack a real political basis. What does it mean to demonstrate in Bonn for a nuclear-free Germany or Europe if it is impossible to organize an equivalent demonstration in Moscow or to raise one's voice against the intervention of the Soviets in Afghanistan, as the American students did when the United States was involved in the Vietnam War?

[Question] Do you regard Western pacifism as a naive illusion?

[Answer] Yes, especially in view of the fact that the world is divided into two great blocs. The Soviets are making quite unconcealed use of pacifism and its adherents for their purposes, without the pacifists seeming to be aware of this.

[Question] Parts of the West European socialists and social democrats are developing an increasingly positive stance vis-a-vis dictatorial and totalitarian regimes of the Marxist-Leninist variety. I will recall here only the political as well as material support of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, especially through the social democratic parties of Germany, Sweden, France, Austria, and the Socialist International as a whole. What political dangers result from this behavior pattern of the Western socialists for the ability of democracy to survive?

[Answer] I am not against independent revolutionary movements, but against those which are tied into Soviet expansionism. Quite certainly the support of Marxist-Leninist totalitarian regimes in the countries of the Third World is not the intention and is not in the interest of the majority of Western social democrats--one should avoid generalizations here. But without question, strong tendencies in this direction are present in some leaders and groupings.

However, it must be admitted that many situations in history at the time of their happening are misjudged by every party. That is especially characteristic of social democrats in their assessment of the problem of peace in the world, for they are pacifists on the basis of their ideology. In political reality, however, in the actual struggle of powers and systems, it is not pacifism which leads to victory over totalitarianism, but a strong, determined position. Peace can be preserved only if the West is sufficiently strong and determined to stop Soviet imperialism as in the 1950's and at the beginning of the 1960's. That means: The West must be stronger than the Soviet Union.

[Question] Do you share the fear of many Americans, but also Europeans, that the political will of the people of Western Europe to preserve their freedom and independence is constantly diminishing?

[Answer] On the contrary, the will of the people of Western Europe to preserve their freedom and independence appears to me to be more strongly developed than just a few years ago, and I believe that this will to fight will continue to grow stronger. For the political scepticism, so prevalent in the West today, according to which any path, whether East or West, is basically the same, represents a position which perhaps is fit for sitting in the living room, but not for politics.

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